

• 21 '22

Vol. XIII.

JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1922

No. 3

THE
ROMANIC REVIEW
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

RDTA

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
MILTON A. BUCHANAN
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD
J. D. M. FORD

EDWARD S. SHELDON

LUCIEN FOULET
JOHN L. GERIG
C. H. GRANDJEAN
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON
KENNETH McKENZIE
HUGO A. RENNERT
HUGH A. SMITH

and of

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

PUBLISHED BY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LANCASTER, PA.,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter April 29, 1920, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of
March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS

<i>Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor</i>	LENA E. V. SYLVANIA 197
<i>Deux Poèmes de Peyre Cathala</i> (<i>continued</i>).....	C. FABRE 214
<i>La Aparición que Hizo Jesu Christo a los Discípulos que Yvan a Emaus. An Early Sixteenth Century Play.</i>	JOSEPH E. GILLET 228
<i>American Travellers in Spain (1777-1867) (<i>continued</i>)</i>	C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM 252
<i>Two Commedie dell'Arte on the Measure for Measure Story</i>	WINIFRED SMITH 263
REVIEWS:	
<i>F. F. Communications, Nos. 32-41; Edited by the Folklore Fellows.</i>	T. F. CRANE 276
<i>Norske Folkeminne utgjovne av den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommision. II. Norske Eventyr.</i>	T. F. CRANE 278
<i>Antologia Portuguesa organizada por Agostinho de Campos.</i>	T. F. CRANE 279
<i>Notes and News.</i>	283
<i>Obituary. Francesco Flaminii (1868-1922)</i>	RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI 284

Articles to Appear Shortly

<i>Deux Poèmes de Peyre Cathala</i> (<i>continued</i>). C. FABRE, Le Percy, France.
<i>Bernard de Poey, Contemporary of the Pléiade.</i> JOHN C. DAWSON, Howard College, Ala.
<i>The Floral Games of Toulouse</i> (<i>continued</i>). JOHN C. DAWSON, Howard College, Ala.
<i>The Chronology of the Earlier Works of Chrestien de Troyes.</i> LUCY M. GAY, University of Wisconsin.
<i>The Original Version of Torres Naharro's Comedia Tinellaria.</i> JOSEPH E. GILLET, University of Minnesota.
<i>Storm-Making Springs: Studies on the Sources of Ivain</i> (<i>continued</i>). GEORGE L. HAMILTON, Cornell University.
<i>Old French Trover en écrit.</i> JULIAN E. HARRIS, Columbia University.
<i>A Bibliography of Bolivian Literature.</i> STURGIS E. LEAVITT, University of North Carolina.
<i>The Old French Lai de Nabaret.</i> GERTRUDE S. LOOMIS, Vassar College.
<i>An Examination of Some Sources of Don Álvaro.</i> E. A. PEERS, University of Liverpool.
<i>Bibliografía Dramática Colombiana.</i> JOSEPH L. PERRIER, Columbia University.
<i>Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor</i> (<i>continued</i>) LENA E. V. SYLVANIA, Columbia University.
<i>Alessandro Manzoni-Beccaria, Romanticist.</i> MARY V. YOUNG, Mount Holyoke College.
<i>The Italian Sources of Antonio Scoppa's Theory of French Versification.</i> P. S. ZAMPiÈRE, Washburn College.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

Subscription price, \$3.00 per year, single number \$1.00.

On subscriptions outside of the United States and dependencies, postage is charged extra as follows: To Canada, on yearly subscriptions 12 cents, on single numbers 3 cents; to all other countries, on yearly subscriptions, 24 cents, on single numbers, 6 cents.

Remittances should be made by New York draft, check or money order, payable to Columbia University Press. On checks drawn outside New York City, ten cents should be added for collection charges.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. Communications should be addressed to

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

41 North Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa. or Columbia University, New York City

Published August, 1922

Première Année De Français

By A. G. BOVÈE, The University of Chicago High School

This new textbook offers a complete course for the first year. It is an organized direct-method book which approaches French, first through the ear, then the lips, then the eye. It furnishes a practical daily program, anticipating every need during the lesson.

70 Fifth Ave. GINN AND COMPANY New York

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XIII.—JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1922—No. 3

DOÑA MARÍA DE ZAYAS Y SOTOMAYOR: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HER WORKS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

VERY little is known of the life of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor and the little that has been gleaned through careful and painstaking research in connection with the present study is indeed too meagre to satisfy natural curiosity concerning a woman whose loyal and sturdy advocacy of the rights of her sex took a bold and fearless stand which may be considered unique for the times in which she lived. In her writings she voiced the protest that throughout the succeeding years has grown ever more insistent, in its effort to readjust standards of morals and to assure to women an attitude of fairness and justice on the part of the opposite sex. This protest which, at that time and up to just a few years ago, seemed so bizarre to some and so trivial to others, has, by reason of organized effort, attained such importance that it is one of the factors to be reckoned with in both the public and private life of today. Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor can well be classed with those who first braved public opinion to assert and maintain, by force of argument, that women have certain rights and that, as human beings, they are not inferior to men.

As the preface to her works proclaims, Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor was a native of Madrid in Spain. Furthermore, we learn from church records that she was baptized in that city in the

parish of San Sebastián, on September 12, 1590.¹ Her father was D. Fernando de Zayas y Sotomayor, born in Madrid and baptized in the same parish, November 9, 1566.² He was the son of D. Francisco de Zayas, a resident of Madrid, although born in Villa de los Santos de Maimona (situated near Zafra, in Extremadura), and his mother was Doña Luisa de Zayas of Madrid. His grandparents on his father's side were Alonso de Zayas, born in Zafra and a resident of Madrid, and Inés Sanchez of Los Santos. On his mother's side his grandparents were D. Antonio de Sotomayor and Doña Catalina de Zayas, both of Madrid. D. Fernando de Zayas was a military man, holding the position of Captain of Infantry. In 1628 he was admitted to the Order of Santiago, for which organization he filled the office of "Corregidor de la encomienda" of Jerez from August 5, 1638 to November 5, 1642.³ Of his wife, we know almost nothing. We are simply told in the baptismal record of her daughter that she was Doña María de Barasa.⁴

It seems probable that Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor lived in Madrid during the greater part of her life, if not the whole of it. The fact that her novels were first published in Zaragoza⁵ is not

¹ *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Escritoras Españolas*: Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, MCMIII. ² vols. Vol. ii, p. 584.

² *Hijos de Madrid, Ilustres en Santidad, Dignidades, Armas, Ciencias y Artes*: D. Joseph Antonio Alvarez y Baena. Madrid, MDCCCLXXXIX. 4 vols. In vol. ii, p. 48, Baena expresses the opinion that, in view of the date at which the author flourished in her literary work, she was doubtless the daughter of D. Fernando de Sayas y Sotomayor. His supposition is confirmed by the researches of Manuel Serrano y Sanz, who discovered the baptismal records. [Wherever early texts are quoted the intention has been to preserve the original orthography, punctuation and use of accents.]

³ *Apuntes*: Manuel Serrano y Sanz. Vol. ii, p. 584.

⁴ The baptismal record as given in the *Apuntes*, vol. ii, p. 585, is as follows:
María de Cayas.—En doce días del mes de Septiembre de mill y quinientos y noventa años, yo el bachiller Altamirano, theniente de cura bapticé á María, hija de don Fernando de Cayas y de doña María de Barasa su muger. Padrinos don Diego de Santoyo y doña Juana de Cardona su muger; testigos Bernabé Gonzales y Alonso García-Altamirano (Madrid, Parroquia de San Sebastian. Libro tres de bautismos, folio 213).

Strange to say, in spite of the baptismal record, Manuel Serrano y Sanz tells us in his comment that *Catalina de Barrasa* was the mother's name. This is the name given by certain other authorities also.

⁵ *Novelas amorosas exemplares*, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y

sufficient reason to conclude that she necessarily lived at any time in that city, although this seems to have remained a question in the minds of some authorities on Spanish literature.⁶ The place of publication may have been merely a matter of convenience, as will appear from the following considerations. It must be remembered that after the Court was established in a permanent manner at Madrid in 1561, a rapid development along social, economic and intellectual lines characterized the city. One of the manifestations of intellectual development at this time was the increased activity in the writing of books. The establishment of printing in the capital in 1566 stimulated to such an extent the publication of these literary efforts that the presses were unable to cope with the demands made upon them. Moreover, court business, including the publication of documents, records and official correspondence submitted for printing, added to the difficulties and burden of work imposed on the press. The situation, instead of becoming better, grew worse.⁷ Authors and booksellers alike clamored in vain for more speed and less delay. It was natural that they should look elsewhere for better service if such were to be had. The formalities connected with the issuance of a book, such as the details of examination, censure, license and special privileges, had to be transacted at Madrid,⁸ but there was nothing to prevent its actual publication elsewhere. Accordingly, it was no unusual custom to resort to the

Sotomayor; Zaragoza, 1637. *Primera y Segunda Parte de las Novelas Amorosas y Exemplares*, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: Zaragoza, 1647.

⁶ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*: Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, Tomo 2, con un bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española, escrito por D. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete. Madrid 1854. M. Rivadeneyra, Ed.

⁷ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, Madrid 1891, vol. i, p. xvii. [Notes 7 and 8 have been suppressed.]

⁸ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: C. Pérez Pastor. Madrid 1891. Vol. i, p. xiv. "Por orden de Felipe II de 7 de Septiembre de 1558 se manda en el artículo 3º que no se imprima ningún libro en España sin licencia del Consejo Real." P. xv. Another law, in 1592: ". . . las licencias que se dieren para imprimir de nuevo algunos libros de cualquier condición que sean se den por el Presidente y los del nuestro Consejo, y no en otras partes."

¹¹ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: C. Pérez Pastor. Vol. i, p. xlvi.

"Zaragoza parece que logró la buena suerte en aquel tiempo de ser pueblo elegido para la impresión de libros de entretenimiento." Bibl. de Aut. Esp.: Novelistas post. a Cervantes; Preface.

presses outside the city of Madrid where the pressure was not so great, and where the work could be accomplished far more expeditiously. It is a fact that the publishers and booksellers in cities such as Zaragoza, Valencia and especially Barcelona worked so quickly that they often reprinted popular books and introduced them into Castile before the first Madrid edition of the same was exhausted.¹¹ Might this not have been the case with the works of Doña María de Zayas?

Whether Doña María was married or not, we do not know. There is no discovered document, notice or reference in or out of her works to establish this point.¹² D. Manuel Serrano y Sanz,¹³ who has gleaned, thus far, more information on our author than any other investigator, confesses that he has been unable to unearth anything definite concerning the personal life of the Doña María de Zayas in question. The greatest difficulty encountered in such an investigation is that during the seventeenth century the name of María de Zayas was a very common one. In the death notices of ladies bearing this name there is nothing to identify any one of them as the author of the "Novelas." She was doubtless a lady of the Court, aristocratic to her finger tips, well educated and surrounded with friends of similar station and similar tastes. The fact that she followed her bent and indulged her taste for publishing what she wrote indicates that she must necessarily have been well endowed with the goods of this world, for then as now the Muses were strangely blind to mundane needs.¹⁴ The pursuit of happiness in their name is indeed a labor of love. The poets and other authors of her day held her in high esteem, inserting in their verses and prose writings warm praise of her achievements. Foremost among these were Lope de Vega and Juan Pérez de Montalván.

¹² D. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete says: "¿Residía en ella (Zaragoza) Doña María, y había en ella contraído uno de esos dulces lazos que fijan la suerte de las criaturas? No se sabe." Cf. *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*: Novelistas post. a Cervantes.

¹³ *Apuntes*, Vol. ii, p. 583.

¹⁴ A Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor sus apellidos la califican de persona de nacimiento distinguido y de clase acomodada. Solo de este modo pudo tener espacio y desahoga para dedicarse a las letras, porque en España, entonces como ahora, pocos adeptos de las musas podían vivir de las ofrendas que el público rendía en sus altares." Cf. *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*: Novelistas Post. a Cervantes.

In his *Laurel de Apolo* Lope de Vega addresses these verses to Doña María de Zayas:

O dulces Hipocrénides hermosas,
Los espinos Pangeos
Aprisa desnudad, y de las rosas
Texed ricas guirnaldas y trofeos
A la inmortal Doña María de Zayas;
Que sin pasar á Lesbos, ni á las playas
Del vasto mar Egeo,
Que hoy llora el negro velo de Teseo,
A Sapho gozara Mitilenea,
Quien ver milagros de muger deseá:
Porque su ingenio, vivamente claro,
Estan único y raro,
Que ella sola pudiera,
No solo pretender la verde rama,
Pero sola ser sol de tu ribera;
Y tu por ella conseguir mas fama,
Que Nápoles por Claudia, por Cornelia
La sacra Roma, y Tebas por Targelia.

Juan Pérez de Montalván in his turn was unstinting in his tribute which appeared in the form of a sonnet in the preliminary pages of the first part of Doña María's *Novelas*:

Dulce Sirena, que la voz sonora
Apolo te prestó desde su esfera,
De la Accidalia diosa, verdadera
Imagen, por quien Marte tierno llora.

Luz destos valles, que qual blanca Aurora
Fertilizas su verde Primavera,
Cuya eloquencia aficionar pudiera
Al Rubio amante, que un Laurel adora.

Prevengate la fama mil Altares,
Su guirnalda te dé el señor de Delo,
Quede tu nombre en bronzes esculpido,

El Laurel merecido
Te dé, Amarilis, la parlera fama,
Que ya por fin igual tu lyra llama.

Another friend who lived on intimate terms with her was Doña Ana Caro Mallén de Soto, who was also a poet and deeply interested in the field of letters. *Décimas* by her appear in the above-mentioned edition of the *Novelas* and reveal the high admiration she felt for the intellectual attainments of her brilliant contemporary and friend:

Crezca la Gloria Española,
insigne doña María,
por ti sola, pues podría
gloriar España en ti sola:
nueva Sapho, nueva Pola
Argentaria, honor adquieres
a Madrid, y te prefieres
con soberanos renombres,
nuevo prodigo a los hómbres,
nuevo assōbro a las mugeres.

A inmortal region anhelas
quādo el aplauso te aclama,
y al imperio de tu fama
en sus mismas alas buelas:
novedades, y novelas
tu pluma escribe, tu cantas
triunfo alegre, dichas tantas,
pues ya tan gloriosa vives,
q' admiras con lo q' escribes,
con lo que cantas encantas.

Tu entender esclarecido,
gran Sibila Mantuana,
te miente al velo de humana,
emula al comun olvido;
y del tiempo desmentido
lo caduco, a las historias,
hará eternas tus memorias,
rindiendole siempre fieles,
a tu eloquencia, laureles,
a tu erudicion, vitorias.

CHAPTER II

FEMINISM IN THE WORKS OF DOÑA MARÍA

Doña María was a woman of advanced ideas, advocating general education for women, recognition of the equal rights of both sexes, and respect for women in the eyes of men. To understand her point of view, to comprehend how noble were her aims and how justified her protest against the position of women in Spain at the time, it is necessary to have a correct perspective of the age, especially as regards woman. Not until this view has been attained can we judge how well or how inadequately she succeeded in portraying, through her works, the manners and customs, the tendencies, and the abuses of the period. As a general thing education for women, however elevated their station might be, was rare. No opportunity was offered for any but a domestic career, to say nothing of a literary one. Instruction in household arts and in the amenities of social life was thought to be sufficient for women. It was a question in many minds as to whether they were capable of assimilating knowledge of any other sort. Women were supposed to live secluded, protected and conventional lives, leaving to men the knowledge of the affairs of the world, the transaction of business and the pursuit of wisdom. To the majority of women, it must be said, this was entirely satisfactory, for they were so accustomed to have the men decide and dispose for them in all matters outside their private and narrow lives, that any attempt to throw off their shackles, to soar into the spheres of literature and art, seemed strange and unfamiliar to their natures.

But that in the seventeenth century in Spain there were women who felt the injustice of the limitations imposed upon them by a man-made world and who yearned for greater spiritual and mental development, we have only to study the career of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor to be rendered certain. Some of these, sure of their latent potentialities, had the moral courage, not only to protest against, but to break away from, the conventional routine and to pursue the bent of their respective talents. Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor was among the number. In the preface to the first part

of her novels,¹ she gives utterance to the challenge that still rings through the ages, gradually becoming more confident, and promising to overcome all obstacles. It is a most personal touch from this author, who demands by what right men claim to be so wise and learned, and presume that women cannot be so too?² She condemns the wickedness and tyranny that insist on keeping women locked up and under repression, that will not give them teachers nor instruction.

"The real reason why women are not learned," she says, "is not because they lack mentality, but because they are not given the opportunity to apply themselves to study. If, in childhood, they gave us books and masters instead of lace-making and fine embroidery, we should be just as well prepared for positions of state and for professorships as are the men, and perhaps we should have more discernment, being more dispassionate in our temperaments. Our repartee is quicker, we are more carefully deliberate in our deceptions, and whatever is done with cleverness, although it be not virtue, shows creative faculty."

Little wonder that Doña María thought women capable of meddling in politics!

She continues:

"³ And, if these reasons are not convincing and to our credit, then there will stand us in good stead the testimony of history in regard to what women have done in the field of letters. We are told by the poet Lucan himself that his wife Argentaria helped him

¹ *Novelas Amorosas y Ejemplares*: Compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor. Zaragoza, 1637.

² "... q' razon ay para que ellos seā sabios, y presuman que nosotras no podemos serlo? esto no tiene, a mi parecer, mas respuesta q' su impiedad, o tirania en encerrarnos, y no darnos maestros: y, assi la verdadera causa de no ser las mugeres doctas, no es defeto del caudal, sino fata [sic] de la aplicacion, porque si en nuestra criança, como nos ponen el cambray en las almohadillas, y los dibuxos en el bastidor, nos dieran libros, y preceptores, fueramos tan aptas para los puestos, y para las Catedras, como los hōbres, y quīca mas agudas, por ser de narural [sic] mas frio, por consistir en humedad el entendimiento, como se ve en las respuestas de repente, y en los engaños de pensado, que todo lo que se haze con maña, aunque no sea virtud, es ingenio."

³ "... y quando no valga esta razon para nuestro credito, valga la experienzia de las historias, y veremos por ellos lo q' hicieron las mugeres que trataron de buenas letras. De Argentaria esposa del Poeta Lucano, refiere ei mismo, que le ayudó en la correccion de los tres libros de la Farsalia, y le

correct the three books of the *Pharsalia*, and composed many verses for him which were palmed off as his own. Themistoclea, sister of Pythagoras, wrote a most learned book of maxims. Diotima was held in great respect by Socrates. Aspasia gave many critical lectures in the Academias. Eudoxa left a book written on political science; Zenobia, an epitome of Oriental history; and Cornelia, wife of Africanus, a collection of intimate correspondence written in most elegant style. There is an infinite number of others, of antiquity and of our own times, which I pass over in silence. . . . Well then, if these things are true what reason is there why we may not show aptitude for books?"

Doña María de Zayas had an inquiring mind, alive to current events and interested in progress. She says, "Whenever I see a book, new or old, I leave my lace-making and do not rest until I have read it through. From this inclination of mine was born the knowledge I have, and from this knowledge a sense of good taste."⁴

Throughout her writings there is ever present a defensive note in condemnation of man in respect to his attitude toward woman. But this is not surprising nor undeserved, for the position of woman in the eyes of man at this particular time was not an elevated nor an enviable one. Navarrete⁵ contrasts this period with the time of Queen Isabel, when women were most ambitious, and, following the example of the Queen who gave lessons to princes in the "Art of Ruling," they delved into the realm of study and were respected by the men for their learning and accomplishments. Then the University of Alcalá, recently founded and enlarged by Cardinal Cisneros, was at its height and had as its leader and

hizo muchos versos, que passaron por suyos. Temistoclea hermana de Pitágoras, escrivio un libro doctissimo de varias sentencias. Diotimia fue venerada de Socrates por eminentes. Aspano hizo muchas lecciones de opinión en las Academias. Eudoxa dexó escrito un libro de consejos políticos. Cenovia un epitome de la historia Oriental. Y Cornelia mujer de Africano, unas epístolas familiares, con suma elegancia. Y otras infinitas de la antiguedad, y de nuestros tiempos, que passó en silencio. . . . Pues si esto es verdad, q' razon ay para que no tengamos prontitud para los libros." Ed. 1637, Zaragoza.

⁴" . . . en viendo qualquiera nuevo, o antiguo, dexo la almohadilla, y no sossiego hasta que le passo. Desta inclinación nació la noticia, de la noticia el buen gusto."

⁵ *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.: Novelistas post. a Cervantes.*

professor in Philosophy and Rhetoric, Antonia Nebrija. Similar posts in other universities were filled by women, but, instead of steadily gaining in popularity, literary careers for women began to fall into disfavor, and gradually women were not tolerated in the universities. Emilia Pardo Bazán⁶ speaks of this unfavorable change as a "descent which began with the last of the Austrian rulers and was wholly consummated under the rule of the Bourbons. With the corruption and decadence that fell upon Spain, the position of women was lowered—an infallible sign of the retrogression of a nation."

To what extent woman herself brought on this state of affairs, we cannot say, but it is a fact that during the first half of the seventeenth century there was an alarming laxness of morals throughout Spain,—but especially at Court. The women assumed a freedom of manner, of dress and of living that was indeed deplorable. A study of contemporary writings and a perusal of accounts by foreigners who visited the country assure us on this point. One of these writers, a Frenchman,⁷ attributed the impending ruin of many of the greatest houses in Spain to the license prevalent at the time, when every man prided himself on the number of paramours he had. He was particularly impressed by the boldness and lack of reserve displayed by the women who, by their effrontery, provoked insulting remarks from the men they met. We are told that they thronged the streets at all times, flaunting their supposed charms and decked extravagantly in the most outlandish costumes made expressly to attract attention. The majority of them were not beautiful, but sought to hide their defects by the lavish use of false hair and cosmetics, often indeed in an effort to cover the ravages of small-pox.⁸ So unsafe did the streets become that any woman, however modest and honest in her intentions, if

⁶ *Biblioteca de la Mujer*, dirigida por Emilia Pardo Bazán. Tomo III. *Novelas de Doña María de Zayas*, p. 16.

⁷ *Voyage d'Espagne*: by Antoine de Brunel. Edited by Charles Claverie in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 30 (1914).

⁸ *Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*: by François Bertaut. Ré-édité par S. Cassan. *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 47 (1919). Francisco A. De Icaza has touched upon this phase of social life in this period in *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes. Sus críticos . . . Sus modelos literarios, etc.* Madrid, 1915, p. 214 et seq.

she appeared without a male escort was open to all kinds of advances and molestation. Consequently, the women of quality who conducted themselves with propriety went abroad only in carriages or else stayed at home, hearing mass in their own chapels and thus avoiding the annoyance and embarrassment often suffered by women in the churches—then the common meeting places of all classes and the favorite rendez-vous of gallants with the objects of their attentions. Husbands who wished to keep their wives from danger and away from this pernicious influence, assumed the rôle of absolute tyrants, forbidding them any liberties whatsoever, and treating them sometimes as if they were slaves, servants or mere children.⁹ Small wonder that there was little encouragement for mental growth for women, and that they naturally fell into the way of believing, even they themselves, that anything beyond the purely mundane was far above their intelligence.

Although Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor fortified herself with arguments and examples from antiquity, yet she realized that in the publication of her novels she would meet with much adverse criticism and incur the censure of those opposed to radical and unaccustomed ventures; for a literary career for women, as has been said before, was most unusual at the time. Boldly she faces her public in her note to the reader. "I have no doubt whatsoever that you will be astonished that a woman has the audacity not only to write a book, but to have it printed. . . . Who doubts, I repeat, that there will be many who attribute to sheer lunacy this justifiable hardihood of revealing to the public my scrawls, because I am a woman—which, in the opinion of some ignorant persons, is equivalent to a thing absolutely incompetent."¹⁰ She seizes every oppor-

⁹ "Au reste, les maris qui veulent que leurs femmes vivent bien, s'en rendent d'abord si absolus, qu'ils les traitent presque en esclaves, de peur qu'ils ont qu'une honnête liberté ne les fasse émanciper au delà des loix de la pudicité, qui sont fort peu connues et mal observées parmy ce sexe. On m'a assuré qu'en Andalousie, les maris les traitent comme des enfants ou comme des servantes. Car quand ils prennent leur repas, s'ils les font approcher de la table, ce n'est pas pour y manger avec eux, mais pour les servir, et s'ils ne leur donnent pas cette permission, et qu'ils veuillent les tenir dans un degré de sujetion plus honneste, ils leur donnent à manger de leur table à terre, où elles sont assises sur des tapis, ou sur des carreaux a la mode des Turcs." *Voyage d'Espagne*: Antoine de Brunel. Ed. by Charles Claverie: *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 30, p. 157.

tunity to defend her sex, admitting no inferiority nor inequality, although her writings bear witness that she was not insensible to the existing conditions of things. She seeks to point out that however blameworthy a woman may be, she is nevertheless still an equal of man:

"Anyone who is a gentleman will not consider this [book] a novelty, nor will he censure it as folly, because, whether this stuff of which both men and women are made be an evolution of fire and clay or rather a composition of spirit and clod, still it is of no nobler texture in men than in women . . . even our souls are alike, for souls have no gender . . . Toward women there should be no discrimination; he who does not esteem them is wicked, because they are necessary to him, and he who insults them is an ingrate, for he forgets the hospitality shown him in the early years of his life."¹¹

Throughout her works there is an underlying tendency that seeks every occasion to vindicate woman against the misapprehending judgment of man. If there were no bad men there would be no erring women, and for every iniquitous woman there are a hundred that are good. Woman is ignorant of the ways and evils of the world by reason of her upbringing. From the very beginning her weakness is fostered, she is made dependent, no avenue is open to her that leads to self-expression, independence and adequate knowledge. Men take full account of this, for by reason of these limitations they are able to maintain their ascendancy and

¹⁰ "Quien duda, lector mio, que te causará admiracion q'una muger tenga despejo, no solo para escrivir un libro, sino para darle a la estāpa. . . . Quien duda, digo otra vez, q'avra muchos que atribuyan a locura esta virtuosa ossadía de sacar a luz mis borrones, siendo muger, que en opinion de algunos necios, es lo mismo que una cosa incapaz."

¹¹ ". . . pero qual quiera [libro], como sea no mas de buen Cortesano, ni lo tendra por novedad, ni lo murmurara por desatino, porque si esta materia de que nos cōponemos los hōbres, y las mugeres, ya sea una trabaçon de fuego, y barro, o ya una massa de espíritus, y terrones, no tiene mas nobieza en ellos, q'en nosotras, si es una misma la sangre, los sentidos, las potencias, y los organos, por donde se obran sus efetos, son unos mismos, la misma alma que ellos, por que las almas ni son hombres, ni mugeres. . . . Con mugeres no ay competencias: quien no las estima es necio, porque las á menester, y quizá las ultraja ingrato, pues falta al reconocimiento del hospedaje que le hicieron en la primer jornada."

prestige. They are the victors, and can afford to be magnanimous to the weaker ally. But are they so? Far from it! Ascendancy seems but one more weapon in their able hands. They take advantage of the frailty of woman, leading her on to trust their very deceitfulness. Woe unto the woman who places her faith in so insecure a vessel, for she shall indeed reap the unjust reward of her love! With music, with billets doux, with promises and presents—the very powers of Evil are out-rivaled in strategy—her favor is sought, and trustingly she accepts all, believing implicitly in the generous giver and insistent petitioner. Most earnestly does Doña María exhort women to be firm, to hold much in reserve, to remember that to give too freely is but to court a broken heart, broken vows and neglect.

The second part of the *Novelas* was written of set purpose to warn women against the mistakes which through ignorance they so often make, by revealing the pitfalls that jeopardize their happiness. She writes not to protect the willing and contented sinner, undeserving the name of woman, but to point out the snares and ambushes laid along the way for the unsuspecting victim of good intentions. She asserts that the good woman is far more unfairly treated than the irresponsible woman who does not stand by a man long enough to have him tire of her, and she emphasizes the fact that men do tire of women easily, seeking ever new conquests, never hesitating to abandon the old love for the new, with little care for the duties left unfulfilled. They are incapable of loving as deeply as does a woman. A woman's love is so great and unselfish that it stands all tests, enabling her to suffer insults, ingratitude and the sacrifice of her own good name.

Thus does Doña María excuse the frailties of woman, and thus does she enjoy depicting her. Let it be said, however, that in her zeal to present to a sympathetic public a loving and unsuspecting martyr she sometimes falls into the error of portraying a simpleton whose stupid blindness is altogether ridiculous. Sowing his wild oats, on the other hand, is no excuse for a young man's failings. Her warning is that if he does not start right, he will probably not end right. One has only to look around to be convinced that no amount of reforming after marriage will avail to change habits established

in youth. Pessimistically she exclaims: "Who is the silly fool who wishes to marry, with so many pitiful examples facing her at every step?"

Men feel that women are without a fundamental moral sense, are fickle, and, as such, are not to be trusted. Whether with or without justification men are suspicious of women; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to convince them of the fact that a fine, noble woman will not stoop to deceit and baseness. Doña María tells us that so great is this prejudice that even the plays and books of the day reflect the tendency. Men's greatest amusement seems to lie in perpetrating disparaging remarks on women's infidelity. She ingeniously suggests that men are jealous and assume this attitude because secretly, in their hearts, they know that women are clever, and, if given the opportunity, might prove formidable rivals in their own fields. For this reason they want them kept stupid and pliable. In her novel, *El prevenido engañado*, she develops this idea by portraying her hero as losing faith in all women because one woman has been false to him. He believes that the more sophisticated a woman is, the better is she prepared to deceive, and consequently he goes through the world seeking a wife who shall be virtuous, good to look upon, of gentle birth (tho not necessarily rich), but whose knowledge shall not extend beyond that requisite to the care of a home, the upbringing of children and the protection of her husband's name. Otherwise—altho we are not told so in so many words—she is to be a mere clod—stupid, dull and uninteresting. He fears the well-informed, bright, intelligent woman more than he does death itself. Through the Duchess, to whom D. Fadrique discloses his views, we hear the author herself argue in favor of the intelligent woman, wise to the ways of the world, versus the stupid and ignorant fool who would never be clever enough to extricate herself from any predicament, nor quick-witted enough to save her husband's honor. What satisfaction could there be in a love founded on so shallow a foundation, for a stupid person is incapable of deep and sustained sentiment. The author cunningly arranges that the hero shall undergo an experience which changes his opinion and convinces him of the truth of this argument.

No punishment is too drastic for the man who wrongs a woman.

Her attitude is implacable on this point. She lauds the courage of the woman who avenges her honor by slaying the man who deceives her, and sincerely wishes that such justice might oftener be meted out, that men might take heed and beware of trifling with women's affections. In the novela *El imposible vencido* a married man who seeks to press his unwelcome attentions upon a respectable widow by a trick of walking through her house at night disguised as a ghost, is discovered, arrested, and condemned to die for his misdemeanor. The author's comment is simply that it is what he deserved. In spite of this apparently uncompromising attitude, we still find, depicted in the *Novelas*, some very good men who chivalrously redress the wrongs of women, who love truly, and who are faithful through all vicissitudes.

There is no sweeter love-story than that in *El desengañado amado* of the patient, generous and ideal lover D. Sancho, and Doña Clara, an example of a virtuous and long-suffering wife, to whom he is later married after the death of her husband. Although deserted by an unfaithful husband, still she remained true to him, maintaining that as God had given him to her through the vows of the church she would cleave to him and to him alone as long as he lived. D. Sancho accepts with resignation her determination, but nevertheless continues to wait patiently, watching tenderly over her from afar until the death of the husband gives him the right to renew his petition.

In all her literary work, Doña María reveals herself as an ardent Christian, to whom a religious life represents the perfect state. In her novels, after passing through the trials and tribulations of this world, it is not unusual to find the heroine entering a convent in order to escape the persecution and ill-treatment of man. There, at last, she finds true happiness and peace, and is content to remain in the shelter of the church for the remainder of her natural life.

In *Al fin se paga todo*, the friendly protector of Doña Hipólita places her in a convent as a temporary measure, and she decides, after tasting the pleasures of a sequestered life, to remain there, refusing to return to her husband.

La Fuerza del amor gives us another example of a disillusioned woman taking the veil to serve God, the only true lover, who, unlike man, is ever grateful and appreciative of the love and devotion rendered him.

In *El Desengaño amado*, when Doña Juana, who is not leading an exemplary life, is warned by the ghost of a dead lover that her soul is doomed, she immediately repents, happily rejoicing in the opportunity offered her to insure for herself salvation and eternal peace. Throughout her writings, in any case of dangerous illness, the soul receives first attention, in preparation for meeting its Maker; then, when this is accomplished, the Church makes way for the physicians, who minister to the body. The spiritual needs, the duty of man towards his Creator, and the preparation throughout this life for the life to come—all these things are constantly emphasized. Unlike so many writers of similar tales, never does she direct a breath of unfavorable criticism against the clergy, rather are their lives and deeds extolled and magnified. Doña María de Zayas believed in a just retribution for transgressors, not only in the future life, but even the present one. *Al fin se paga todo* was written expressly to demonstrate that the wicked are not immune from punishment in this world, but that before they leave it they must begin to pay for their crimes and misdeeds.

Her faith in the efficacy of prayer is illustrated by many instances in her novels, where the apparently impossible is brought to pass through the medium of earnest prayer.

The Moors formed so romantic an element in the Spain of her day that, like most writers of the period, she could not resist the temptation to introduce incidents wherein figure Moorish captives, Moorish princes, Moorish slaves and Moorish adventurers. Many of these are represented as kindly, chivalrous, just and altogether humane and attractive. Yet, at times, her staunch Catholic conscience troubles her, and we are amused to find her inventing excuses for these sheep without the fold whom she was loath to condemn. We find them about to become Christians, or open to conviction, ready to change their faith at the opportune moment. This religious attitude in the *Novelas*, together with their lofty purpose of defending the rights of woman, infuses into their ex-

treme realism a spirit of idealism which raises them above the novels of this type current at the time.

These stories have unquestionable value in that they reflect, as in a mirror, the tendencies of the age. In the elaborate and detailed descriptions of social entertainments, artistic decorations and dress, we are better able to penetrate into the customs, the tastes and the foibles of a period which has ever been replete with interest, and, as we read, we are gradually aware that unconsciously the author wove into her narrative the spirit and atmosphere of the society in which she moved.

LENA E. V. SYLVANIA

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(*To be continued*)

✓ ✓

DEUX POÈMES DE PEYRE CATHALA

(Continued from page 17)

III. DATE DU SECOND POÈME (1230-1236); GUILLEM AUGER ATTESTÉ DE 1230 A 1257

GRÂCE au nom de *Guillem Auger* (v. 53), nous pouvons savoir à quel moment et pour quelle noble cause Peyre Cathala a formulé ces belles aspirations vers la valeur, le mérite, la loyauté et toutes les vertus chevalesques. Il a célébré le mouvement de sympathie qui, de 1230 à 1235, s'est produit à Marseille, à Tarascon, dans le Venaissin, et même dans toute la Provence et le Midi, en faveur du jeune Raimon VII, comte de Toulouse, qui venait, en somme, de délivrer ses terres et *Parage* d'une agression odieuse par le traité de Meaux, et tâchait de reconquérir l'héritage et l'antique gloire de sa grande maison.

Guillem Auger n'est encore comme chez les romanistes que par quelques mentions vagues et accidentnelles de Schultz, de Chabaneau et de M. Anglade; Schultz a trouvé son nom dans un traité de paix signé à Rièz (Provence) en 1257; Chabaneau, en répétant cette mention, fait aussi du personnage un troubadour qu'il est tenté d'identifier avec Guillem Augier de Grasse (ou de Grossa). (*Biographies des Troubadours*, dans *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, t.8, Index. M. Anglade (*Onomastique des Troubadours*, *Revue des Langues romanes*, LXIII, pp. 169, 262, 263), rappelle les indications de Schultz et de Chabaneau, et signale le nom de Guillem Augier (troubadour) dans la tenson *Guillems primis iest* (Raynouard, *Choix*, V, 177), et dans le sirventés de Bertran del Paget, *De sirventes aurai guan ren perdutz* (Raynouard, *Choix*, IV, 375).

Mais Peyre Cathala et Bertran del Paget célèbrent surtout Guillem Auger comme chevalier parfait, franc, délicat, généreux, et comme homme de guerre de haute valeur. Voici, en effet, la *cobla* que lui consacre Bertran del Paget en lui dédiant son sirventés :

Lai, a·N Guillem Augier, on pretz s'es clutz,
Tramet mon chant, car el es cabalos
E ls enemics ten sobratz e vencutz,
Et als amics es francs et amoros,
Larcs et adregts e senes vilania;
E tot quant a dona e met e despen;
E non o fai ges ab semblan dolen;
Per que'n val mais, ja tan pauc non metria.¹

C'est donc sous l'aspect d'un chevalier vaillant et généreux qu'il faut chercher Guillem Auger dans l'histoire; et aussitôt il y apparaît, en effet, sous les traits dominants que peignent ses deux admirateurs et amis.

(Date de 1230.)—Il est mentionné, pour la première fois, dans une charte célèbre, celle où la ville de Marseille, en 1230, se donne pour *Syndic à vie*, Raimon VII, comte de Toulouse et marquis de Provence. L'acte, peu remarqué par les historiens, est une des plus belles pages des annales du Midi; une grande ville, riche éprise d'indépendance et de liberté, appelle à sa tête le seigneur le plus sympathique du temps, celui contre lequel se sont acharnés, pendant vingt ans, les puissances les plus redoutables, l'Eglise, puis la maison de France, et même l'Empereur. Le jeune comte (il n'a guère que trente-deux ans), déshérité en 1215, au concile de Latran, a, par une épopée sans exemple et inespérée, reconquis ses terres ruinées, et a été justement secondé un instant dans cette œuvre par la vaillante cité en 1216. Il n'a pas pu réparer tous les maux et réduire tous ses ennemis, notamment l'insatiable cour de France, et il a accepté le traité de Meaux (1229). Mais ce traité même, si dur, qui aurait osé l'espérer après la ruée de Louis VIII sur Avignon et jusqu'à Toulouse?

Le comte était entouré de l'auréole des chevaliers malheureux, mais indomptables, en qui s'incarnaient les aspirations de tout le

¹ Là-bas, au seigneur Guillem Augier, chez qui mérite s'est réfugié,
Je transmets mon chant; car il est accompli,
Et il tient les ennemis terrassés et vaincus.
Et, pour ses amis il est franc et affectionné,
Généreux, empressé et sans vilenie,
Et tout ce qu'il possède, il le donne, le distribue et le dépense;
Et il ne fait point cela d'un cœur dolent.
Aussi en a-t-il plus de mérite, même s'il donnait peu.

Midi. Il était le symbole de la liberté contre l'oppression, et, comme le lui avait prédit Gui de Cavaillon, "le Sauveur de Parage." (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, xi, p. 212.) La journée du 7 novembre 1230 dans le cimetière des Accoules, fut donc un jour de réparation, d'enthousiasme et de poésie, le véritable élan d'un peuple vers la justice, le droit, la pitié et la beauté.

Or, Guillem Auger est cité dans l'acte, parmi les plus hauts témoins de Marseille : "Actum in presencia et testimonio . . . Ugonis de Baucio, Raimundi de Baucio, *Guillelmi Augerii*, Rostagni de Agouto . . ." (D. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, nouv. édit., Privat, t. viii, col. 937—Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, t. ii, p. 188 b.).

Si l'on songe que Hugues du Baus est vicomte de Marseille et l'un des plus grands seigneurs de Provence, que Raimon du Baus, son neveu, est prince d'Orange, et Rostang d'Agout, un des plus puissants barons du Venaissin, on voit immédiatement quel est le rang élevé de Guillem Auger. Et l'on comprend aussitôt les vers de Peyre Cathala :

A celh quez es ab los fins affinatz
Ez ab los autz, aut se sab mantener.

(1231.)—La cérémonie de Marseille en 1230 avait eu surtout pour but immédiat de sauver la ville des entreprises du comte de Provence, Raimon Bérenger IV, qui voulait la réduire à l'hommage et la priver de son consulat avec la connivence de l'évêque. L'agresseur, qui était déjà sous les murs de la cité, fut aussitôt obligé de s'éloigner. Mais la guerre continua contre lui et Marseille chercha des alliés. Elle en retrouva un très important dans la ville de Tarascon. Celle-ci, en 1216, avait, comme Marseille, soutenu la cause du jeune Raimon VII de Toulouse. Elle revint donc simplement à son ancienne alliance. Or, ce fut Guillem Auger qui fut chargé, au nom du comte, de l'y ramener. Voici comment D. Vaissète (*Hist. gén. de Lang.*, VI, p. 666) raconte le fait :

"[Raimon VII] continua la guerre contre le comte de Provence. En effet, les habitants de Tarascon promirent au mois d'août de cette année (1231) à *Guillaume Augier*, qui reçut leur promesse au nom du prince, "de ne faire ni paix, ni trêve, ni traité avec le comte de

Provence, et avec tous ceux avec lesquels il était en guerre, sans son consentement; de le servir contre eux, excepté contre l'église romaine, l'empereur, le roi de France et l'archevêque d'Arles, et de le suivre dans cette guerre durant l'espace de cinq ans."

Le texte même de la charte (D. Vaissète, VII, col. 938, et Teulet, II, 216, b) n'apprend rien de particulier sur Guillem Auger, mais la cérémonie dut être imposante: les six consuls de Tarascon signèrent le traité avec tous leurs conseillers, au nombre de cinquante-quatre.

Et l'heureux négociateur dut se mettre à la tête des nouveaux alliés et conduire rudement la lutte. La fuite de Raimon Bérenger devant les coalisés a laissé des échos dans les chants de Bertran d'Alamanon, qui fut lui-même fait prisonnier et se plaignit amèrement de la lâcheté du comte. (C. Fabre, *Guida de Rodes*, pp. 93-94.)

D. Vaissète (t. VI, p. 666) n'a pas décrit cette guerre et remarque même que Raimon VII n'y prit point part personnellement. Mais un acte d'excommunication lancé contre ce comte, le 2 août 1232, dit le contraire et décrit un instant la lutte: "Comes Tholosanus terram comitis Provinciae occupaverit, segetes combusserit, villas et castra, quantum potuit, devastaverit, machinis petrariis impugnando." (Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, II, p. lxii).

C'est, sans doute, à ces exploits de Guillem Auger que font allusion Bertran del Paget et Peyre Cathala. Guillems "a vaincu les ennemis . . . il est éprouvé dans la guerre . . . C'est la fleur de la chevalerie . . . il acquiert de l'honneur et de la valeur quelque part qu'il soit."

(1233.)—La victoire fut si complète que, pour se sauver, le comte de Provence dut recourir aux bons offices de l'empereur Frédéric II, son suzerain. Celui-ci intervint par deux injonctions dont nous avons le texte (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, pp. lxiii et lxx) et qui s'adressent aux seigneurs du Baus, au comte de Forcalquier, puis aux Marseillais.

Tout le monde se soumit devant la haute intervention impériale, et Guillem Auger se trouve parmi les témoins ou les garants de la paix consentie à Avignon, devant le palais épiscopal, par le comte de Forcalquier (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lxv). Les témoins sont nombreux et de premier rang comme le voulait l'importance de

l'acte consenti devant Cailla de Curzans, légat de l'empereur, et devant les trois évêques d'Avignon, de Carpentras et d'Orange :

“ Testes affverunt dominus Parcevall de Oria, potestas Avenian, dominus Henricus et dominus Petrus de Diano, ejus judices, dominus R[aimundus] de Baucio, dominus Draconetus [seigneur de Montdragon, Venaissin], dominus Gerardus Amicus [frère du comte de Forcalquier], Isnardus Audegarus, Vill[elmus] Augerius.”

On verra plus loin que *Audegarus* est probablement une mauvaise leçon et qu'Isnardus Audegarus (*corr. Augerius*) n'est autre que le frère de Guillem, et joua, comme lui, un rôle politique assez important.

L'acte est du 29 mars 1233, et, le 24 avril suivant, Isnard Audegarus est témoin dans l'acte de soumission du comte de Toulouse lui-même. (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lxvij).

Remarquons, en passant, que la poésie semble ne jamais être absente de ces actes divers : *Folquetus de Ratman*, c'est-à-dire, si nous ne nous trompons point, le troubadour *Folquet de Romans*, est témoin dans les chartes des 29 mars et 24 avril 1233. Sa présence s'explique par le fait que le sort du Valentinois était intimement lié à celui du Venaissin, et peut-être aussi parce que Folquet était l'ami de Guillem Auger : il semble tensoñner avec lui et *Arnaud* dans un *torneyamen* (table de *a*, no. 201, 7 de Bartsch).

(1236.)—La paix acceptée par les vainqueurs fut traversée par tous les efforts de la papauté et du clergé. Raimon VII avait été excommunié dès 1232, et le pape aurait bien voulu garder le Venaissin qui gémissait depuis huit ans sous séquestre. Mais l'empereur et le roi de France lui-même furent plus désintéressés, et le Venaissin fut rendu à Raimon VII, avec le consentement de Louis IX, par deux investitures successives de Frédéric II en 1234 et 1235.

Le vainqueur célébré par les poètes, c'est-à-dire Guillem Auger, ne pouvait que recevoir la récompense de sa valeur et de ses victoires. Il fut créé *juge et chancelier* du comte de Toulouse dans la province. D. Vaissète a marqué, en faisant une légère erreur, cette situation nouvelle de notre héros (*Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, t. VI, p. 129) :

“ Nous ne trouvons aucun chancelier pour ce marquisat [Le Venaissin], depuis l'an 1224, jusqu'en 1237. Guillaume d'Augier prenait cette année-là et la suivante, le titre de *juge et de chancelier du*

comte Raymond dans le pays Venaissin, et il exerçait encore cette charge en 1239. Pons d'Astoaud, qui lui avait succédé dès l'an 1244, la posséda jusqu'à la mort de Raimond VII."

Dans ces nouvelles et paisibles fonctions, Guillem Auger prit naturellement part aux actes les plus importants de la province.

Le 3 juillet 1236, à Orange, et devant l'église Saint Pierre, Raimon VII en personne reçut l'hommage des seigneurs de Caderousse et leur accorda toutes les franchises que leur avait autrefois concédées l'empereur (D. Vaissète, col. 993-997—Teulet, II, 319 b). Guillem Auger est présent, avec le sénéchal et une foule de témoins, aux côtés du comte :

"Presentibus domino A[mico] episcopo Aurasicensi, Barralo, domino Baucii, senescalco domino Comitis, Willelmo de Barreria, *Willelmo Augerio, judice et cancellario domini comitis, Isnardo Augegario (Andeguario, Teulet) Pontio Astoaldo . . .*"

On voit que le texte corrige la légère erreur de D. Vaissète, qui ne fait Guillem Auger juge et chancelier qu'à partir de 1237.

L'acte est précieux pour nous à un autre titre. Il nous fournit peut-être dans l'original du *Trésor des Chartes*, un court spécimen de l'écriture d'Auger lui-même. Celui-ci, après le *signum* du notaire du comte, a écrit, probablement de sa main, (l'écriture est différente de celle du reste de la charte) les lignes suivantes : "Et ego, *Guillelmus Augerius, judex et cancellarius domini comitis Tholose, presentem cartam subscripsi et eam jussi bulla domini comitis roborari.*"

(1239.)—Le 15 mai 1239, à Orange, devant le chœur de l'église Saint Pierre, l'évêque de Carpentras, Guillaume IV (Béroard) prête hommage à Raimon VII pour sa ville épiscopale et divers châteaux, entre autres celui de Vénasque (D. Vaissète, col. 1027-1030—Teulet, ii, 406 b). Guillem Auger est encore mentionné avec son titre de chancelier : "Testes presentes interfuerunt dominus A[micus], episcopus Aurasicensis, R[aimundus] de Baucio, princeps Aurasicensis, Barralus, dominus Baucii, *Willelmus Augerius, judex et cancellarius domini comitis in partibus Venaissini, Guillelmus de Barreria, S[an]ctus Cardus Alamandus, Massipus de Tholosa, senescalcus Venaissini. . .*"

(1240.)—Le 11 août 1240, dan le cloître de l'Isle (sur Sorgue),

après beaucoup d'hésitation, Raimon VII se démit des fonctions de podestat d'Avignon en faveur du comte Galterius, vicaire général de l'empereur dans le royaume de Vienne et d'Arles, qui réclamait ce podestat avec insistance. La cession eut lieu naturellement devant les plus hauts seigneurs ou fonctionnaires de la province; Guillem Auger est parmi eux: "Testes interfuerunt dominus B[ernardus], comes Convenarum, dominus Barralus de Baucio, Willelmus Arnaudus de Tantalo, Willelmus de Barreria, Poncius Astoaudi, Willelmus Augerius . . ." (D. Vaissète, col. 1038. Teulet, ii, 431 b).

Puis, nous perdons Guillem Auger de vue pendant quatorze ans. Nous supposons, étant donnés sa valeur et son rang, qu'il dut être un des chefs qui conduisirent, en 1240, contre la ville d'Arles, l'expédition que le troubadour Guigo appelle *la guerra sobreira dels dos comtes*, et où Bertram d'Alamanon se conduisit si piteusement, tandis que Sordel s'y montra vaillant chevalier. (C. Fabre, *Guida de Rodez*, pp. 109-110). Cette guerre était menée au nom de l'empereur, et presque toute la noblesse du Toulousain et du Venaissin y prit une part active. Mais elle eut des conséquences graves pour ses auteurs. Raimon VII dut aller se justifier à Paris et accepter prématièrement la paix de Montargis (14 mai 1241). Et tous ses vassaux furent excommuniés avec rage, dépouillés de leurs biens et souvent obligés de s'exiler. Ce fut le sort de *Peire Bremon de Sauve* (alias le troubadour *Ricas Novas, lo Tontz*) que son beau-frère Barral du Baus dut accueillir à Marseille, et qui ne rentra jamais dans ses biens (C. Fabre, *Los VII Gaugz de Nostra Dona*, pp. 158-163).

Guillem Auger dut subir une disgrâce analogue. Evidemment, l'Eglise ne pouvait pas lui pardonner ses anciennes victoires et le pouvoir élevé qu'il avait acquis en Venaissin. Aussi le voyons-nous cesser ses fonctions de juge chancelier en 1244. D'ailleurs, il était vraisemblablement hérétique, ou au moins fauteur d'hérésie. Il dut donc subir des persécutions ouvertes, surtout après la mort de Raimon VII en 1249. A ce moment le Venaissin passa au frère du roi de France, Alphonse de Poitiers, et la persécution des hérétiques fut immédiatement si forte qu'on en condonna vingt-deux le même jour à Malaucène. J'ai indiqué dans une autre étude (*Los VII Gaugz de Nostra Dona*, p. 37) l'état d'anarchie où tomba la province

et les efforts patients que dut faire *Gui Folqueis* pour y ramener l'ordre et y instaurer l'autorité du nouveau comte.

(1254.)—Et les persécutions, ou, au moins les soupçons, dont fut l'objet Guillem Auger, ont laissé un écho dans l'histoire. Sa famille dut faire établir, en 1254, par Raimon Gaucelme (ou Gaucelin), ancien sénéchal du Venaissin, qu'elle était loyale envers Alphonse de Poitiers, et avait été reconnue comme telle. Voici la lettre de l'ancien sénéchal: c'est un document poignant dans sa simplicité et sa concision:

"Noverint universi et singuli quod, anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo CC^oLiiii, kalendis novembris, nos R[aimundus] Gaucelmi, dominus Lunelli, sub debito fidelitatis quam domino nostro comite Pictavie et Tholose, fecimus, testificamur et dicimus, sub presencium testimonio litterarum, quod tempore quo pro dicto nostro comite cuius tunc tenebamus senescalliam in partibus Venaissini, receperimus Pontem Sorgiae, habuimus cum universitate tam militum quam proborum hominum dicti loci, et specialiter cum *matre Guillemi Augerii et Ysnardi Augerii*, et cum ipso Ysnardo Augerio presentibus, convenciones hujusmodi: scilicet quod dicta universitas et singuli de ea debuerint et tenere et habere, pacifice et quiete, omnia bona et jura que habebant in tota jurisdictione et districtu dicti Pontis Sorgiae, sicut antea habere solebant: et pro predictis habendis et tenendis, nos promisimus eis fidum adjutorium nomine nostri comitis Pictavie [et] Tholose, et quod ipsos et existencia defenderemus ut homines et bona hominum Venaissini. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillo nostro pendenti jus simus roborari." (De Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Charters*, III, 221 b).

Raimon Gaucelme (ou Gaucelin) avait été sénéchal du Venaissin sous Raimon VII, et avait été maintenu dans ces fonctions par Blanche de Castille, puis par Alphonse de Poitiers, après 1249 et jusqu'en 1253. A ce moment, il avait eu pour successeur Jean des Arcis, qui fut sénéchal jusqu'en 1267. C'est donc au plus tard en 1253 que s'était produite l'intervention du sénéchal à Pont-de-Sorgues (aujourd'hui *Sorgues*, petite ville à 8 km. au nord d'Avignon), et plutôt vers 1249 que plus tard, puisque la mère de Guillem Auger et d'Ysnard, qui devait être âgée, était encore en vie. D'ailleurs, Pont de Sorgues avait un hôtel de la monnaie (Boutaric, *Louis IX et Alphonse de Poitiers*), et ainsi Alphonse de Poitiers avait dû en prendre possession immédiatement après la mort de Raimon VII.

Et il résulte du document que la famille était suspecte et avait été inquiétée, puisque l'ancien sénéchal dut certifier qu'elle ne devait pas être privée de "ses biens et de ses droits," mais considérée comme devant en jouir pacifiquement et dans le calme (*pacifice et quiete*) comme auparavant, c'est-à-dire du temps de Raimon VII. D'ailleurs, Guillem Auger était absent, puisque Raimon Gaucelme n'indique comme présents que sa mère et son frère. Où était-il? Il semble bien qu'il n'est pas compris au nombre des *militum et proborum hominum dicti loci*. Ainsi, telle était la tristesse des temps que celui qui avait rendu le Venaissin à Raimon VII, et, par là, à ses aspirations politiques et libérales, était chassé du pays par le gendre et l'héritier même de Raimon VII.

En tout cas, le document est précieux pour ses biographes. Nous savons maintenant où il était né. C'est au cœur même du Venaissin, dans ce beau château de Sorgues que les papes embelliront à l'envi au XIV^e siècle, et tout près de cet Avignon héroïque qui osa résister à Louis VIII. C'est bien de lui qu'il s'agit dans la charte, quoique la table des nouveaux éditeurs de D. Vaissète ait distingué le *Guillelmus Augerius de 1254* de celui qui avait été juge et chancelier de Raimon VII. Le nom de son frère Ysnard, accolé aussi au sien, comme ici, dans deux autres des documents examinés, laisse peu de doutes à cet égard. Et Ysnard avait été podestat d'Avignon en 1241, quand son frère était encore chancelier. Il avait, en cette qualité de podestat, conclu avec le comte de Provence la paix qui avait terminé la guerre de 1240.

Et Guillem dut subir le sort des fauteurs d'hérésie, c'est-à-dire être chassé de chez lui et privé de ses biens. Son nom reparait en 1259, dans un *computus* qui contient, entre autres, l'article suivant:

"Nomina hereticorum de quorum bonis computata sunt in presenti computo . . ."

"Item, ad bastidam *Guillelmi Augerii*, octo eminate terre." (De Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III, 464).

On ne dit pas dans le *computus* quel avait été le sort du propriétaire, mais les autres personnes nommées, Beatrix Ricaue, Guillaume Odard, Austrie Grandave, Bertrande Distère, André Fabri ont été condamnées à être "enmurées ou brûlées pour hérésie."

Les biens reviennent à l'évêque d'Avignon et sont parfois contestés par le *comte*, c'est-à-dire par Alphonse de Poitiers.

Peut-être ce document navrant nous donne-t-il aussi le nom de la mère ou plutôt d'une sœur de *Guillem*:

"Item, aliud stare, situm in parrochia Sancti Petri, et alia duo staria de prope, que fuerunt Gensariae Augeriae."

(1257.)—Quoi qu'il en soit de cette lamentable histoire d'hérésie, *Guillem Auger* avait échappé au bûcher et à la prison en se réfugiant probablement en Provence ou dans le comté de Forcalquier. Là, l'inquisition n'exerça jamais les ravages qui l'ont si tristement illustrée dans les domaines d'Alphonse de Poitiers, et bien des hérétiques ou Vaudois continuèrent à vivre paisiblement et même à acquérir des honneurs.

Or, nous trouvons justement *Guillem Auger* témoin dans un acte de 1257, pour ainsi dire comme au bon temps où il était allé à Marseille et à Tarascon, dans l'éclat de la jeunesse et de la gloire. L'acte a été transcrit par Papon (*Hist. de Provence*, II, p. xcvi). Après une guerre qui, avec des alternatives diverses, a duré plus de dix ans, Charles d'Anjou, comte de Provence, et Gui, dauphin du Viennois, se mettent enfin d'accord en ce qui concerne les terres du Gapençais qui faisaient partie du comté de Forcalquier. Guigue les avait réclamées au nom de sa femme, et Charles les avait revendiquées comme héritier de Guillaume de Sabran, le dernier comte de Forcalquier que nous avons vu encore en vie en 1233. Il fut convenu qu'on se les partagerait et qu'on s'en ferait réciproquement hommage. La Provence, grâce à cette combinaison ingénieuse, qui fit sourire Cardinal (chant: *Totas partz vei mesclad' ab avareza*: les habitants de Gap y sont accusés de se donner deux seigneurs différents le même jour) la Provence s'étendait jusqu'au Mont-Genève.

C'est dans l'acte qui consacre cet agrandissement que *Guillem Augier* est témoin:

"doctum apud Regium (Riez), in domo episcopali, presentibus et vocatis infrascriptis testibus, scilicet nobili viro domino Guidone comite Forezii, domino Barallo domino Bauci, domino Guillelmo de Bellomonte, milite domini comitis Caroli, domino Henrico de Luzarchis, canonico carnontensi, dicti domini Caroli capellano, domino Odone de Fontanis, milite, Provinciae senescallo, domino Roberto de Caveno, vicario Massiliae, magistro Petro Lombardo, domino

Azemario, domino Anomani, Guillelmo Silbondi, domino Bellione de Turri, domino Alamando de Condiaco, domino *Guillelmo Augerio*. . . ”

Les rangs sociaux ont été bien modifiés depuis 1240. Maintenant, les hommes d'église, simples chanoines, ont le pas sur les sénateurs, et “le seigneur Guillem Auger” a un rang très modeste.

“Le même jour, ajoute Papon, le dauphin déclara que tout ce qu'il possédoit aux comtés de Gap et de Forcalquier relevoit de Charles d'Anjou et de Béatrix, sa femme.” Ce serait dans ce second acte que, d'après Schultz et Chabaneau, Guillem Auger paraîtrait encore avec Sordel; mais je n'ai pas pu voir le texte.

GUILLEM AUGER TROUBADOUR

Ainsi, huit documents nous ont révélé la carrière de Guillem Auger pendant vingt-sept ans, et nous ont même indiqué son origine, sa famille, et probablement ses tendances hérétiques. Le nouveau protecteur de la poésie provençale a eu toutes les qualités que lui décernent ses admirateurs et a montré dans la guerre la valeur que Peyre Cathala et Bertran del Paget exaltent d'une manière si précise et presque dans les mêmes termes.

Guillem Auger a-t-il été poète à son tour? Le contraire serait bien invraisemblable. Les vrais protecteurs des troubadours ont presque tous, au moins dans quelques tensons, cultivé eux-mêmes l'art qu'ils encourageaient. Cela est arrivé même aux plus grands, c'est-à-dire aux rois. C'est le cas de Richard-Cœur-de-Lion et d'Alphonse II, d'Aragon. Quant aux grands seigneurs ou aux barons, leur nombre est considérable: à leur tête se place le Dauphin d'Auvergne, qui fut réellement un grand poète, spirituel, sérieux et très divers, quoique son œuvre soit encore dispersée: Raimon VI, de Toulouse, fut lui-même poète un instant, en échangeant des *coblas* avec Gui de Cavaillon; puis nous trouvons des comtes et des comtesses de Provence, des princes d'Orange, des comtes de Rodez, Blacatz, Boniface de Castellane, les Malaspina, etc.

Or, Guillem Auger a, au moins, tensonné une fois avec un homonyme, un Guillem inconnu qui le tutoie et l'appelle délicatement “le plus habile dans l'art de trouver”:

Guillem, primis iest en trobar a ma guis[s]a
Troban, vuelh doncx saber ta volontat . . .²

Et le poète inconnu pose une question assez banale et fréquente à ce moment : il veut savoir ce qu'il faut préférer du savoir ou de la puissance :

Cal volrias mais aver?
Esser ricx de terr' e d'av[er],
Entr'els pus ricx, o la sciensa aprisa
Ab lo saber que las VII artz divisa?³

Guillem Auger répond naturellement que la science doit être préférée :

Mays volgr'aver la sciensa conquiza
Que'm degues remaner, que la rictat. . . .
Car ricx pot pauc valer
E leu pot hom d'aut bas cazer.
E'l sciensa non chai, pos es assiza:
Sel qu'a1 saber es ricx en sa camiza.⁴

Deux autres extraits du poème ont été transcrits par Raynouard (*Choix*, V, p. 277) et sont ainsi à la portée de tous. Mais nous avons relevé les précédents parce qu'ils contiennent justement quelques expressions curieuses du second poème de Peyre Cathala. Celui-ci emploie quatre rimes en *isa*: *estrisa* (?), *camisa*, *guisa* et *brisas*. Or, trois de ces rimes se retrouvent dans la tenson de Guillem Auger. Il semble donc que l'imitation soit voulue et cela paraît très probable dans l'emploi de *camisa*. Ce mot est rare dans la poésie provençale, et Raynouard, pour trouver des exemples (*Lexique roman*, ii, 302), a dû s'adresser à un poème anonyme et à celui de Guillem. Le mot nous choque même un peu chez Peyre Cathala, parce qu'il s'agit de la chemise de la plus noble des dames (*la gencer*) et que la chemise

² "Guillaume, tu es, à mon avis, le premier en l'art de trouver.—En trouvant, je veux donc savoir ta volonté. . . ."

³ "Que voudrais-tu avoir davantage?—Etre riche de terre et d'argent,—parmi les plus puissants, ou [avoir] acquis la science—with le savoir qui parcourt les sept arts?"

⁴ "Je voudrais avoir conquis plutôt la science—qui me devrait rester, que la richesse . . .—Car le riche peut avoir peu de valeur—and l'on peut rapidement tomber d'un haut rang bien bas . . . Tandis que la science ne disparaît point, après qu'elle est assise:—Celui qui possède le savoir est riche, même en chemise."

ne nous paraît pas un signe de noblesse et de beauté, même aux XIII^e siècle. Nous croyons donc que le mot a été choisi pour faire plaisir à celui à qui le poème est dédié, et qui, lui, avait justement employé l'expression d'une manière parfaitement heureuse : " Celui qui possède le savoir est riche, même s'il n'a que sa chemise (comme fortune)."

Millot (*Hist. littéraire des Troubadours*, iii, 403) a pensé que le Romieu choisi pour arbitre dans la tenson entre les deux Guillem, pouvait être le fameux Romieu de Villeneuve, le ministre si connu et si légendaire de Raimon Bérenger. Rien n'est plus vraisemblable. Romieu est un haut personnage en 1238, puisque, cette année là, dans un testament, Raimon Béranger lui confie, avec le gouvernement de la Provence, la tutelle de ses enfants.

Et Guillem dut cultiver la poésie assez longtemps, surtout pendant les années heureuses et prospères où il fut juge et chancelier de Raimon VII dans le Venaissin. Ces fonctions mêmes indiquent qu'il était instruit, et qu'il connaissait ainsi le prix du savoir dont il faisait l'éloge. D'autres juges ou jurisconsultes ont caressé la Muse du Midi au même moment que Guillem. C'est, en effet, vers 1248, que Gui Folqueis fut nommé par Louis IX juge à Saint-Gilles, et Gui Folqueis devint le jurisconsulte le plus écouté et le plus grand avocat de son temps, avant 1257. Or, Gui Folqueis a été poète et s'applaudit de l'avoir été, même quand il fut devenu pape. (C. Fabre, *Los VII Gaugz de Nostra Dona.*)

En Provence, Charles d'Anjou confia les fonctions de juge à sa cour au poète le plus populaire de l'époque, Bertran d'Alamanon, qu'Auger devait connaître. Il est vrai que Bertran trouva le métier de juge bien absorbant, et surtout inconciliable, par sa rigueur, avec la gaieté de la poésie, et menaça de quitter son poste et de s'enfuir en Castille. Mais il ne quitta point son poste et la poésie continua à lui sourire. (Salverda de Grave, *Le troubadour Bertrand d'Alamanon*, pièce VI, pp. 39-46).

Toutefois, il ne saurait être de notre sujet de rechercher les autres poèmes qu'on pourrait attribuer à Guillem Auger. La recherche serait longue, laborieuse et ne conduirait probablement à aucun résultat précis. Il serait aussi prématuré et hors de notre sujet d'examiner par quels renseignements Jean de Nostredame a trouvé un

poète qu'il appelle Guillem Augier de *Grasse*. Ce poète, Chabaneau croit que c'est le nôtre ; il l'a trouvé mentionné dans la table du manuscrit *a* (*Biographies*, index) où on le dit originaire de *Grossa*. Mais cette même table attribue à Guillem Augier de Grossa un poème bien connu, *Be-m plai lo gais temps de Pascor*, qui est incontestablement la propriété de Bertran de Born. Si bien que, même en identifiant Guillem Augier de Grasse ou de Grossa avec le nôtre, on ne trouverait pas sûrement ses poèmes ; on comprendrait, au contraire, que le chant *Be-m plai lo gais temps de Pascor*, qui est un hymne de guerre, ait pu être attribué par un copiste à un homme aussi valeureux que Guillem Auger.

C. FABRE

LE PUY-EN-VELAY

(A suivre)

*LA APARICION QUE HIZO JESU CHRISTO A LOS DOS
DISCIPULOS QUE YVAN A EMAUS: AN EARLY
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PLAY*

OF Pedro Altamirando (or Altamira, if Moratín is correct), the author of the little play which is printed below, nothing at all is known. Moratín probably saw an edition dated 1523, and describes it as follows: *Auto de la aparición que nuestro Señor Jesu-cristo hizo á los discipulos que iban á Emaus, en metro de arte mayor compuesto por Pedro Altamira (sic), el mozo, natural de Hontiveros, impreso con licencia en Burgos año de 1523.*¹ This edition is at present not known to be available anywhere. La Barrera mentions it, probably after Moratín, but it is found neither in Gallardo nor in Salvá. In fact, it has been thought that the play was altogether lost.²

The Madrid *Biblioteca Nacional*, however, owns a copy of a later edition (Press-mark: R-10277), formerly the property of D. Pascual de Gayangos. The title-page reads as follows:

¶ La apariciō que
nuestro Señor Jesu Christo hizo
a los dos discipulos que yvan
a Emaus: en Metro de
Arte Mayor.
Compuesto por Pedro Altami-
rando el moço, natural de
Hontueros.

This title is framed between two columns, resting on a long and narrow rectangle [redacted]. The columns support the symmetrical figures of two angels holding a wreath of leaves, within which is pictured the host, half-emerging from the ciborium. The rect-

¹ Moratín, *Orígenes del teatro español*, Madrid, 1830-1831, I, 156-158.

² Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, p. 98, speaks of "das leider nur dem Titel nach erhaltene Auto de Emaus des Pedro de Altamira."

angle at the bottom shows two greyhounds supporting a crown with five visible points over a plain shield. Black letter. 12 unnumbered sheets. Signatures: Aij-Avij. Colophon: Impresso con licencia en Burgos, en casa de Juan Bautista Varesio: Año de M.DC.IIJ.

The Emmaus-theme (*Luke*, 24. 13) appears in the Pfarrkircher Passion-play, the Catalan Passion-play mentioned by Chabaneau, a play of the Abruzzi mentioned by d'Ancona³ but always as a part of a Resurrection- or Passion-play. Creizenach⁴ has found the Emmaus-scene treated by itself only in Fleury and Rouen, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Altamirando's *Aparicion*, dignified, simple and easily acted in church,⁵ at Easter-time, adds a Spanish and more modern instance to those few examples and gives weight to Kohler's suggestion that Encina's *Representación á la santísima resurrección de Cristo*, where Lucas and Cleofas relate the miracle of Emmaus, may represent a combination of two liturgical themes originally separate.

On account of its early date, its interest for the history of the Spanish drama and its extreme rarity, Altamirando's playlet, or rather dialogue, seems well worth reprinting. It is also a document of some importance for the history of the Spanish *arte mayor*. Now that the standard technique of this verse has been soundly established,⁶ its variations and development may well be studied in carefully established texts. It has not been pointed out, I believe, how frequently the *arte mayor* has been put to dramatic use. Mr. Morel-Fatio⁷ admits only its fairly common occurrence "dans des compositions surtout didactiques et narratives, jusque vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle." As a matter of fact it would be easy to add to the five narrative works in *arte mayor*, quoted by Mr. Morel-Fatio, two or three times as many dramatic productions written before the middle of the 16th century, most of them available in reasonably reliable editions.⁸

³ Kohler, *I.c.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Gesch. d. neueren dramas*, I, 56-57.

⁵ Cf. Creizenach, *I.c.*, III, 118.

⁶ R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Etude sur le "Laberinto" de Juan de Mena*. *Revue hispanique*, IX (1902), 75-138.

⁷ *L'Arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XV^e siècle etc.* *Romania*, XXIII (1894) p. 222.

⁸ *Danza de la Muerte* (15th cent.), ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1907.—

The text is remarkably free from archaic forms and unusual words. We may note, however, *quiesiera* (91); *hableste* (240); *saliria*;⁹ *cumplissen* (509; but elsewhere in this text *cumpliesse*); the two forms *compañía* (rhyming with *estraña*, 595–596) and *compañia* (rhyming with *llevaria*, 602–605); and the noun *escupos*=*escupiduras* (528). The prologue is in rhymed couplets, the play itself in octavas, arranged as follows: *abba—acca*.

There are few noteworthy rhymes or assonances: we may mention *estamos*: *entrambos* (175–176),¹⁰ the rather more usual combinations *perfectas*—*prophetas* (351–352), and *benigno*—*camino* (434–437) all correct rhymes, interesting only to show how spelling lagged behind pronunciation. Some liberties have been taken with

Gil Vicente, *Auto de San Martinho* (1504) *Obras*, Lisboa, 1852, I.—Encina, *Egloga de Fileno y Zambardo* (*Cancionero* of 1509) *Teatro*, ed. Barbieri, pp. 187–225.—Diego de Avila, *Egloga ynterlocutoria* (before 1511?) *ap.* Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Ekilogen*, Dresden, 1911, pp. 236–265.—The *Egloga de Torino* interpolated in the *Questione de Amor* (1508–1512), *ap.* Menéndez y Pelayo, *Crígenes de la novela*, II, 67–73.—Torres Naharro, *Diálogo del Nacimiento* (after April, 1512), *Propalladia*, ed. Cafete-Menéndez y Pelayo, II, 347–371. A mixture of quatrains of *arte mayor* with *versos de pie quebrado*.—Bachiller de la Pradilla, *Egloga Real* (1517) last part (ll. 692–931), *ap.* Kohler, p. 229–236.—Hernando de Yanguas, *Egloga . . . en loor de la Natividad de nuestro señor* (before 1518?) *ap.* Kohler, p. 192–209.—Hernando de Yanguas, *Farsa del mundo y moral* (1528) *ap.* Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, I, 415–449 and Rouanet, *Colección de Autos etc.*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1901, IV, 398–432.—Juan de Paris, *Egloga nuevamente compuesta* (1536) *ap.* Cronan, I, 391–414 and Kohler, p. 329–350.—Diego de Negeruela, *Farsa Ardamisa* (ca. 1550), ed. Rouanet, 1900 (in part: ll. 1272–1417)—Juan de Pedraza, *Danza de la Muerte* (1551) *ap.* Pedroso, *Autos sacramentales*, pp. 41–46 (all but the *loa*), *Bibl. de Aut. esp.* t. 58.—Perálvarez de Ayllón & Luis Hurtado de Toledo, *Comedia Tibalda* (before 1553), ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1903.—Fernando Diaz, *Farsa nuevamente trobada* (1554) *ap.* Cronan, I, 319–332 and Kohler, p. 317–328.—Anon., *Aucto de la pacienda de Job* (no date) *ap.* Rouanet IV, 105–127.—The list might still be lengthened by titles of plays that have not yet been reprinted, such as Yanguas' *Auto sacramental* (Burgos, 1520?), and the same author's *Farsa . . . para . . . el dia de Corpus Christi* (1521), Luis Hurtado de Toledo's *Egloga Silviana* (publ. with the second edition of the *Comedia Tibalda*), or plays now probably lost, such as Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga* (1494?), or plays partly lost, such as the farce of which fragments have been reprinted by Cotarelo y Mori, *Revista española*, I, 140–142.

⁹ Cuervo, *Apuntes críticos*, 6th ed. § 285.—Pidal, *Manual* (1918) § 123, 2.
Hableste: § 118, 3.

¹⁰ Cuervo, *Apuntes críticos*, 788. *Ambos* is sometimes spelled *amos*. Cf. *Cancionero de Obras de Burlas* (1511) ed. Usoz (1841) p. 147; Timoneda, *Obras*, Valencia, 1911, I, 479 *et passim*.

the rhyme. Four lines (17, 18, 364, 483) have no rhymes; one rhymes *fingido* with *infinito*; two (152, 490) have only assonances. The last of these two, however, occurring in the first quatrain, has contaminated the second quatrain (*abbx—cccx*). *Hallareys* rhymes with itself (609-613).

Moratín has reprinted fifty-two lines (from l. 638 to l. 690) of Altamirando's^{10a} little drama, as "una muestra del buen estilo y versificación en que está escrito." Assuming that Moratín took his passage from the edition of 1523, we have noted the few variants that occur in it, marking them with *M*.

It is intended here to reproduce the original diplomatically with all possible exactness, except in the following particulars: no long s's have been used; to facilitate the reading of the text a few abbreviations have been solved; and a few obvious misprints or oversights have been corrected and these corrections have been indicated in footnotes. There has been no attempt at modernizing the punctuation or adding accentuation, nor are the lines in the immediately following caption printed to correspond with the lines of the original heading. The names of the characters are printed in full throughout.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

^{10a} Possibly the author's name on the title-page is a misprint for the not unusual name *Altamirano*. In the 1523 edition this may have read (Pedro) *de Altamira*, or just *Altamira*.

[A_{ij}]

REPRESENTACION DE LA APARICION

que nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, despues de resucitado, hizo a los dos discipulos que yuan a Emaus: como lo cuenta san Lucas. Fecha en coplas a manera de dialogo: enel qual se introduzen dos discipulos: el vno san Lucas, y el otro Clephas, y nuestro Señor en figura de Peregrino. Y primero haze vn Angel¹¹ el argumento, contando en breue lo que enel presente dialogo se contiene.

DEuotos Christianos tened atencion
vereys muy deuota representacion
que se tiene agora de representar
como despues de resucitar
Christo Jesus maestro diuino
aparecio segun peregrino
a dos discipulos suyos, no mas:
el vno san Lucas, y el otro Cleophas
que juntos entrabmos camino lleuauan
para vn castillo que entonces llamauan
por nombre Emaus, y assi caminando
vereys como tristes se van altercando
si su buen Maestro Jesus fue Messias
vereys como escucha sus grandes porfias
Christo mostrandose ser peregrino:
con ellos juntandose van su camino.
Vereys como Christo les preguntara
de que van hablando? reprehende los el
porque tienen dubda ser Christo Messiah
vereys por figuras y por prophecias
que Christo les quita la duda en que est
vereys las questiones que le proponran
y a Christo soltallas con dulces razones
Alcad pues Christianos las contemplacio
pensad contemplando por esto fingido
el summo Maestro saber infinito
que cosas tan altas entonces diria

[A_{ijj}]

¹¹ There are not many instances of angels speaking prologues on the early Spanish stage, as in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos* (1537) and Francisco de las Cuevas' *Representación de los mártires Justo y Pastor* (1568). Stieffel *Zeitschr. f. rom. phil.*, xvii, 580) considers the prevalence of the angel as prologue-speaker in (at least German) medieval plays as proof that the prologue of religious plays is not derived from classical models.

con que dulcedumbre les enseñaria
aqueil que es el mismo saber verdadero.
Vereys los discipulos topando vn Romero
con tanta prudencia, estar espantados:
vereys que a Emaus depues de llegados
Christo se finge passar adelante:
Vereys como ellos con lindo semblante
le ruegan que quiera con ellos quedar:
Vereys que sentados despues a cenar
el pan ya partido le conoceran
y ellos alegres hablar le querran
y desaparece Jesus adesora.
Vereys como quieren tornar a la hora
a Hierusalem para lo contar,
y juntos alegres con gozo sin par
cantan vn psalmo contentos y ufanos:
Estad pues atentos deuotos Christianos
que muy presto a Lucas vereys comenzar.

30

35

40

45

¶ Comiença la obra.

Lucas. O gran desuentura.
Cleophas. O mal desastrado
Lucas. Que te parece hermano Cleophas
que gran mal es este?
Cleophas. No puede ser mas,
el nuestro buen padre ya crucificado.
Lucas. Vees nuestro gozo del todo acabado.
Cleophas. En humo se es yda la nuestra esperança
Lucas hermano mi seso no alcança
que puede ser esto, estoy agenad[o]
Un hombre tan justo que nunca, pecco
Propheta muy santo.
Lucas. Por cierto tal era,
que nunca palabra sin ser verdadera
en su santa boca jamas se hallo.
Cleophas. Y dalle la muerte segun se le dio
en contra de toda razon y justicia
por vna imbidiosa peruersa malicia
que nuestra Sinoga con este tomo.
Lucas. Y del que pensaras si ansi no muriera?

5c

55

60

- Cleophas. Yo siempre pensara hauer de ser el
el santo Mesias que espera Israel.
segun los milagros y vida fiziera
por hijo de Dios le siempre tuuiera
agora no siento que pueda creer
ser hijo de Dios y ansi padecer
muerte entre muertes cruel lastimera. 65
- Lucas. En esto estoy yo, razon es muy clara
si el fuera hijo de Dios por ventura
viendole el padre en tanta pressura
quien piensa ni cree que no le ayudara? 70
- Cleophas. Mas bien lo mirando quien resucitara
siendo puro hombre a Lazaro muerto
en la sepultura hediondo por cierto
allí poderio diuino mostrara. 75
- Lucas. Yo estuue presente y tu lo verias.
- Cleophas. Si estuue, y vi luego como le mando
sal fuera Lazaro, y resucito
oyendo su voz. 80
- Lucas. Pues que mas querias?
- Cleophas. Hermano no ves que el propheta Helias
resucito muertos, tambien Heliseo
por esso no fueron tenidos yo leo
por hijos de Dios, ni menos Mesias 85
- [Aiiij] Lucas. Tambien tu no sabes que el padre rogo
la noche del Jueues quando fue preso
que el no muriesse?
- Cleophas. Verdad es en esso
muy claramente ser hombre mostro
Mas sabeys hermano lo que pienso yo
si el no quiesiera ansi padecer
pudiera queriehdo desaparecer
segun que otras veces desaparecio. 90
- Lucas. Desaparecio y subitamente
quando con piedras matalle quisieron
dentro en el templo que mas no le vieron 95
- Cleophas. Y ansi lo pudiera hazer al presente
por donde parece voluntariamente
auer el querido su muerte y passion.

La Aparicion que Hizo Jesu Christo

235

- Lucas. Hermano Cleophas muy buena razon
es essa que dezis verdaderamente
Que todas las cosas segun han passado
el se las dixo primero muy bien
catad que subimos a Hierusalem
do el hijo del hombre sera condenado
Alli sera preso y crucificado
si el pues sabia su muerte a la clara
primero que fuese muy bien la escusara
si el no quisiera tomalla de grado. 105
- Cleophas. Muy bien me parece : mas ya que pongamos
el no ser hijo de Dios, yo no se
porque no diremos que este tal fue
el santo Mesias, y Rey que esperamos ?
el tiempo es cumplido si bien lo contamos
la vida y milagros que las prophecias
escriuen y ponen del santo Mesias
en nuestro maestro Jesus las hallamos 110
- Lucas. Tambien ay en esso porque replicar
como diremos Mesias ser el
que el Rey Mesias que espera Israel
de gran captiuero nos ha de sacar
Vemos le muerto : nosotros quedar
siempre sujetos al pueblo Romano
ay tantas cosas contrarias hermano
no siento ni alcanço que determinar. 115
- Atonito estoy y muy agenado
no se que me pueda dezir en verdad
por vna parta la su santidad
por otra su muerte me tiene turbado.
Estoy con su muerte muy lastimado
las lagrimas mias no pueden cessar. 120
- Cleophas. Ay Lucas hermano bien ay que llorar
perdiendo maestro de nos tan amado.
Yo sabes en esto lo que determino
que nuestro maestro fue santo varon
propheta muy grande por conuersacion
dulce, suave, humilde y benigno 125
- 130
- 135

121 Text: has.

- Lucas. Tal le hallamos nosotros contino
y el mismo Pilato que le examino
peccado ninguno jamas le hallo
Quien es el que viene por ese camino? 140
- Christo aparece.
- Peregrino. Amigos Dios os salue.
Lucas. Y vos bien vengays.
- Peregrino. Ado bueno vays?
Lucas. Nosotros llegamos
hasta Emaus.
- Peregrino. Pues juntos nos vamos
por ese camino yo voy donde vays
Pues vamos. 145
- Lucas. Dezidme de que platicays,
que todo el camino venis razonando
entre vosotros tambien altercando
deno se que cosas: y tristes estays.
- Cleophas. Y como, tu solo eres peregrino
[Av] en Hierusalem que nunca supiste
las cosas que enella por caso muy triste
en estos dias an acaecido.
- Peregrino. Dezidme que cosas de gracia vos pido
Cleophas. Las cosas de aquel Jesus Narazeno
que fue varon justo, muy santo y muy bueno
en todas sus cosas muy esclarecido:
Aquel gran propheta por predicacion
doctrina y milagros el mas excelente
para con Dios y toda la gente 150
de quantos ya fueron, seran, y son:
De como fue preso por intercession
de los Sacerdotes que lo procuraron
los principes nuestros le crucificaron
y le condenaron a muerte y passion.
Nosotros tuuimos del mientra vivio
muy firme esperanca de hauer de ser el
el gran Redemptor del pueblo Israel
hasta que vimos como padecio:
Que visto que muerte tan cruda murio
con tantos tormentos y tan abatido 155
160
165
170

147 Text: *razonado*.

- ya nuestro gozo del todo es perdido
ya nuestra esperança del todo falto.
- Peregrino. Y quien soys vosotros. Parece que tristes
estays de su muerte?
- Lucas. Por cierto si estamos 175
y harto.
- Peregrino. Pues luego vosotros entrabmos
discipulos suyos parece que fuystes.
- Lucas. Si fuymos sin duda.
- Peregrino. Dezidme y oystes
sus predicaciones.
- Lucas. Por cierto si oymos 180
su buena doctrina tambien aprendimos
- Peregrino. Amigos pues luego muy mal entendistes
o ciegos de ingenio grossero y botado
y no codiciosos en bien entender
o duros y tardos en querer creer
lo que los prophetas han prophetizado 185
Ya como no veys que a Christo fue dado
que fuese abatido por muerte y passion
y ansi padeciendo por resurreccion
subiesse en su gloria despues ensalçado.
¶ Como vosotros quiça no supistes
subiendo Jesus a Hierusalem 190
que dixo su muerte por orden tambien
y todas las cosas segun que las vistes
Si dixo.
- Lucas. Pues como tan presto perdistes
la fey y esperança que entonces os diera 195
que andays vazilando por esta manera
incredulos, ciegos, dudosos y tristes.
- Cleophas. Segun tus palabras tu bien entendias
la ley y prophetas.
- Peregrino. Un poco se cierto.
- Cleophas. Pues di donde pone aver de ser muerto 200
durissima muerte de Cruz el Messias
Los Satrapas nuestros por las prophecias

183 Text: *codiciosus*.

186 Text: *Yo*.

- assignan que Christo sera prosperado
su reyno: su nombre de Dios ensalçado
segun a la letra lo pone Esayas. 205
- Lucas. Y mas quel Messias y rey que esperamos
los prophetas dizen que nos saluara
y a todos nosotros nos redemira
que mas captiuero despues no tengamos
por estas razones dudosos estamos
que vemos la muerte cruel que murió
y vemos nosotros que no nos saluo
antes sugetos a Roma quedamos. 210
- Peregrino. O simples y ciegos: por ciegos regidos
que ciegos son todos los vuestros Rabbis
y ciegos vosotros y quantos seguis
sus exposiciones y falsos sentidos
no se os acuerda, o desconocidos
que vuestro Maestro Jesu muy jocundo
nunca hablaua del reyno del mundo
ni delos bienes enel contenidos. 215
- [Avj] ¶ Ni los prophetas tampoco entendian
auer de librarlos con su poderio
Christo de Roma ni su señorio
segun que los vuestros Rabbis os dezian
Mas que por muerto de Christo serian
libres las gentes del mal Luzifer
de su captiuero de mas decender
a los infiernos a do descendian. 220
- ¶ ANSI con su muerte el manso cordero
Jesus el humano linage saluo
por quanto sin culpa la culpa pago
al mismo su padre del padre primero.
Que te parece maguera romero
que sabias razones? 225
- Lucas. Algun sabidor
deues ser cierto: holgamos señor
auernos hallado tan buen compañero. 230
- Cleophas. 235

²⁰² *Sátrapas*: In Diego Sánchez de Badajoz' *Farsa de San Pedro* (*Recopilación*, ed. Barrantes, II, 211 ff.) the character who claims tribute from Jesus (*Matthew 17. 24-27*) also bears this Persian title.

²⁰⁴ Text: *reyna*.

La Aparicion que Hizo Jesu Christo

239

- Peregrino. Tambien yo me huelgo con tal compañia
por ser como fuystes de Christo Jesu
discipulos.
- Cleophas. Dinos hableste tu
a nuestro maestro señor algun dia. 240
- Peregrino. Hable muchas vezes por esso dezia
del lo que digo.
- Lucas. pues dizes ser el
el santo Messias que espera Israel
- Peregrino. Amigos yo cierto por tal le tenia
Cleophas. Muriendo tal muerte gran cosa dezias. 245
- Peregrino. No veys vosotros que fue necesario
quel mundo librassse del mal aduersario
muriendo la muerte de Cruz el Messias.
Quereys que os lo muestre.
- Cleophas. Merced nos harias 250
- Peregrino. Primero os quiero de las escripturas
del santo Moysen traeros figuras
despues entraremos en las prophecias
¶ Aquesto primero nos da figurado
el libro primero del santo Moysen
diziendo del arbol que en medio se tien
aqueil parayso terreno nombrado
Era aquel arbol de Dios ordenado
que quien del comiesse no enuegceria
antes eterna la vida ternia 255
por esso fue arbol de vida llamado.
¶ La Cruz a do nuestro Maestro murió
por arbol de vida se bien figuraua
que in medio terre salutem obraua
segun en sus Psalmos Dauid lo canto.
Que en medio del mundo la Cruz se hinco
de Christo Jesus adonde la vida
la vida perfecta, la gloria cumplida
al genero humano muriendo causo.
- Lucas. O cosa admirable, muy gran razon lleua
aquesto que dizes: procede Rabbi 260
- Peregrino. Estando durmiendo Adam dice alli
que de su costado saco Dios a Eua. 265
270

- Lucas. Si dice. Pues esto figura y prueua
Peregrino. que Christo por muerte de Cruz dormiria
y de su costado tambien saliria
su esposa la yglesia del todo ya nueua
Que sus sacramentos alli pullularon
por el agujero del santo costado
oystes, o vistes manar de su lado
la sangre y el agua que cierto manaron
Sabemos lo cierto. 275
- Cleophas. Pues representaron
Peregrino. el agua, el baptismo, la sangre se da
[Avij] a vn sacramento do siempre estara
la sangre de Christo que crucificaron
Cleophas. O sabio Maestro Rabi singular
muy grandes consuelos nos dan tus razones
tus buenas doctrinas, tus exposiciones
por Dios que no cesses de tu platicar. 285
- Peregrino. Lo mismo figura tambien sin dudar
la arca que hizo Noe de madera
la qual en el lado la puerta tuiiera
que nadie sin ella se puede saluar.
Que desta manera la mando hazer
Dios: figurando la Cruz y madero
adonde el Messias, y Dios verdadero
tomasse la muerte sin la merecer
que nadie remedio pudiesse tener
ni menos saluarse sin la arca de Cruz
la qual en el lado de Christo Jesus
tuuiesse la puerta para guarecer. 290
- Tambien Abraham si Dios le pedia
que su vnico hijo le sacrificasse
y quiso despues que Isaac se saluasse
muriendo el carnero que cerca veyva
fue porque en Christo no padeceria
la diuinidad que Isaac demostraua
mas la humanidad que significaua
por este carnero que entonces moria
Jacob Patriarcha haciendo mencion 295
- Jacob Patriarcha haciendo mencion 300
- Jacob Patriarcha haciendo mencion 305
- Jacob Patriarcha haciendo mencion 310

- y prophetizando la Cruz de Jesus
puso las manos en forma de Cruz
dando a los nietos la su bendicion
El santo Moysen por esta razon
alco de madero la Cruz y señal
con vna serpiente que fue de metal
con que de serpientes saluo su nacion
¶ Lo qual figuraua que nuestro Messias
de las infernales serpientes de grado
salua las gentes en cruz leuantado
segun que le vistes morir estos dias. 315
- Lucas.
O sabio Maestro segun exponias
la tora y sus textos y pones las glosas
te digo por cierto que en muy muchas cosas
a nuestro Maestro Jesus parecias 320
¶ El declaraua los textos ansi.
- Peregrino.
Yo siempre seguia sus predicaciones
note sus milagros, note sus razones
maguer que discipulo suyo no fuy
Y creo sin duda y siempre crey 330
ser el el Messias porque las señales
que escriuen de Christo las mesmas y tales
yo con mis ojos en este las vi.
¶ Los coxos andauan, los sordos oyen
vi muchos ciegos por el alumbrados
por el eran sanos los endemoniados
y limpios los gafos: los muertos vivian. 335
- Cleophas.
Aquessos milagros tambien los hazian
muy muchos prophetas.
- Peregrino. aunque los fizieron
todos de Christo Jesus escriuieron
por quanto ser hijo de Dios ya sabian
¶ Tambien los Prophetas yo digo y consiento
que Dios por sus ruegos milagros mostraua
Jesus por su propia virtud los obraua
con sola fuerça de su mandamiento 340
Sanaua enfermos muy muchos sin cuenta
con sola virtud que del procedia
mirad lo que dixo despues que veyá
aquel que era ciego de su nacimiento? 345

Cleophas.	Verdad es que muchos señor confessauan viendo sus obras diuinias perfectas Jesus ser propheta mayor de prophetas empero ser Dios los mas dudauan.	350
Peregrino.	No vistes que hijo de Dios le llamauan los mismos espíritus malignos por nombre?	355
Cleophas.	Verdad es: mas como Dios puede ser hombre los entendimientos señor no bastauan.	
Peregrino.	Tan alto mysterio que no le entdays no es mucho, creedlo por fe, y assi quiera supla en vosotros la fe verdadera: lo que entiendo dezis que faltays No seays incredulos si os acordays que el vuestro maestro Jesus predicaua vn grano de mijo teniendo de fe podeys a los montes mudar do querays La santa escriptura que es ley verdadera contiene a la hora hauer de ser Christo tambien Dios y hombre.	360
Cleophas.	pues nunca yo he visto propheta ni texto que tal cosa quiera	
Peregrino.	Por cierto propheta lo escriue.	
Cleophas.	quién era	370
Peregrino.	Esayas dize ser Dios poderoso y su nombre fuerte y maravilloso principe grande paz muy entera ¶ Y en otra parte el mismo Esayas Emanuel le puso por nombre quasi diciendo ser Dios y hombre el rey prometido por las prophecias. Y fue conueniente que fuese el Messias Dios porque al hombre remedio truxesse y hombre tambien para que pudiesse por culpa del hombre morir estos dias No vistes que quando Jesus espiro los cielos y suelo su luz denegaron la tierra tremia, las piedras quebraron el velo del templo tambien se partio	375
Lucas.	Si vimos.	380
	359 <i>assi</i> = <i>assi si</i> , as in 345 and 347 <i>sola</i> = <i>sola la</i> .	385
	365 Text: <i>querays</i> .	

- Peregrino. Pues ende ser Dios demostro
por quanto los cielos y tierra hizieron
aquel sentimiento que se condolieron
sintiendo la muerte de quien los crio 390
- Lucas. Pues yo te suplico me quieras sacar
de vna gran duda? pues Christo Dios era
porque pues queria morir, no pudiera
al genero humano su muerte saluar.
- Peregrino. Possible le fuera a Dios sin dudar
que todo es posible a su omnipotencia
mas fue conueniente cumplir su presencia
y siendo justicia la quiso guardar. 395
- ¶ Y como ordenado de Dios estuuiesse
segun en su ley lo hizo escreuir
el gran Redemptor hauia de morir
fue necesario que assi se cumpliesse
Y quiso justicia tambien que muriese
que pues el queria saluar de la muerte
al hombre, pagasse por de tal suerte
que muerte con muerte se satisfaziesse. 405
- ¶ Ansi hasta el dia que Christo murio
y del enemigo cobro la victoria
almas ningunas entrauan en gloria
Jesus con su muerte los cielos abrio:
Dios a Moysen por esto mando 410
- que hombre homicida entrar no pudiesse
en Hierusalem hasta que muriese
el gran sacerdote que agora murio
Que a Christo Jesu el santo varon
David sacerdote le llama y eterno.
- Cleophas. Pues los Patriarchas señor al infierno
tambien decendian por esta razon, 415
- Peregrino. Si decendieron.
- Lucas. Es admiracion
aquesso que dizes.
- Peregrino. Pues no os esparteys
del gran patriarcha Jacob no leeys
que hizo a la letra de aquesso mencion? 420

390 Text: *quieras*.404 Read *por[el] de tal suerte*.

- Lucas. Yo no lo ley: tu por ventura. 424
- Cleophas. Yo menos.
- Peregrino. Leystes de como le dieron los hijos al padre de aquel que vendieron de sangre teñida la su vestidura. 425
- Cleophas. Leymos.
- Peregrino. Pues ende la santa escritura pone que dixo, descendire yo a los infiernos, o do descendio mi hijo: llorando con mucha tristura. 426
- Lucas. O padre de sciencia: Maestro diuino espiritu de vida nos dan tus razones y tus verdaderas interpretaciones nos hazen que vamos cobrando ya tino Despues que aquel nuestro Maestro benigno a hombre no oymos doctrina tan alta la ley y prophetas declara sin falta Dios te nos traxo por este camino ¶ Y pues que tu eres tambien entendido ya porque duda ninguna dexemos tu nos declara por donde veremos ser este su tiempo del rey prometido 430
- Peregrino. Daniel fiel propheta si es bien entendido dize quitando de aquesse debate septuaginta hebdomade sunt abreuiate entonces el mundo sera redemido. 435
- ¶ Empero guardaos que el mal exponer la ley y prophetas de vuestros doctores Les hizo que ciegos cargados de errores hiziessen a Christo Jesus padecer Mas siendo contadas segun deuen ser aquellas semanas sin duda mataron a Christo Jesus quando se acabaron aquellas semanas del buen Daniel. 440
- Cleophas. Pues tu nos declara Rabi singular a estas semanas que cuenta les pones que estan muy discordes las exposiciones que en ellas los nuestros Rabis suelen dar. 445

428 Read *a do.*429 Text: *tiestura.*447 Text: *vuestro.*457 Text: *nuestro.*

- Peregrino. Pues ende vereys por su discordar
sus falsos errores y claros engaños
que aquellas semanas serenas son de años
del rey Sedechias se han de contar 460
- Cleophas. Del rey Sedechias, porque desde aquel?
Peregrino. Porque el quinto año que aqueste reyno
dice Hieremias, que Dios le mando
que su prophecia dixesse a Israel 465
- Contad pues el tiempo, vereys que desde el
ciento y doze años passaron del mundo
hasta acabarse el templo segundo
que fue comenzado por Zorobabel.
- Y desque ya el templo en su perfeccion
estuuo hasta agora passaron por cuenta
casi trezientos y ocho y setenta
años por curso de reuelacion. 470
- Sumadlos que todos vereys como son
setenta semanas, y enesta postrera
el santo Mesias Jesus padeciera
segun que le vistes su muerte y passion. 475
- Cleophas. Por cierto Maestro yo nunca pensara
que hombre en el mundo pudiera ya ser
que sciencia y doctrina, saber y entender
con nuestro maestro Jesus ygualara 480
- Que fue su doctrina muy alta y muy clara
y cierto la tuyaa Señor es ansi.
- Peregrino. No es marauilla que yo le seguia
por todas las partes a do predicara 485
- Lucas. Señor reuerendo ya tengo entendido
que fue necesario que Christo muriesse
mas no se la causa por donde quisiesse
morir vna muerte de Cruz abatido.
- Peregrino. fue conueniente al mal enemigo
que fue vencedor al hombre primero 490
- vencelle en la Cruz: porque el que en madero
vencio: que en madero quedasse vencido.
- Cleophas. Pues di no bastaua con solo morir
hazer en el mundo la gran redempcion 495
- Peregrino. El su mas pequeno dolor y passion
bastaua a mil mundos muy bien redemir.

492 Text: *el que que en madera.*

- Cleophas. Pues dime maestro : porque pues suffrir
quiso blasphemias, escarnios y males,
tormentos, dolores, y penas : las quales
de grande manzilla no puedo dezir ? 500
- Peregrino. Todas las penas que veys que le dieron
a Christo Jesus, primero ordenadas
fueron de Dios : y del reueladas
a los prophetas que las escriuieron.
Y que los santos prophetas dixeron
y prophetizaron hauer de passallas
el mesmo cordero no quiso escusallas
mas que se cumplissen, y assi se cumplieron.
El buen Zacharias nos prophetizo 505
que el santo Mesias seria vendido
por treynta dineros : y ansi fue cumplido
que vistes que Judas traydor le vendio.
el gran Rey propheta Dauid figuro
que hauia de estar descalço y rezando
In monte Oliueti : cumpliose ya quando
Jesus enla noche del Jueues oro
Tambien Hieremias en lamentacion
dize en sus Trenos que Christo sera
preso por nuestros peccados : y ya 515
vistes el Jueues su triste prision
de ser açotado vos hizo mencion
Dauid que en persona de Christo dezia
en los sus Psalmos : oy todo el dia
me an açotado sin auer compassion
Aquella Sibilla Cumana declara 520
daran bofetadas a Dios su Mesias
y sucios escupos : y dice Esayas
que nunca por esso boluió la su cara.
Si vistes que burla y escarnio sacara
Herodes de Christo cumplio : prophecia
factus sum vt vir ebrius : dezia
el buen Hieremias que lo prophetara.
O sabio maestro, y quan consolados 530
estamos agora con esta que oyemos
que desde que el nuestro maestro perdimos
andamos llorosos, dudosos, turbados
- Lucas. 535

535 Text: *oyemos.*

No solo nosotros : mas los señalados
Apostoles suyos que mas le siguieron
desde la hora que preso le vieron
atonitos andan y muy derramados
Andan perdidos señor estos dias.

540

Peregrino. fue necesario que ansi lo anduuiessen.
Lucas. porque di maestro ?

Peregrino. Porque se cumpliesen
todos los textos de las propencias.

545

Cleophas.

Peregrino. Ay dello texto ?

El buen Zacharias
dixo que al gran pastor heririan,
y que sus ovejas se derramaran
do dixo por este pastor el Mesias :
Tambien si le vistes que acuestas lleuaua
la cruz, de Esayas fue prophetizado
sobre los ombros el su principado
dize de Christo que entonces hablaua,
Isaac la figura de questo nos dava
que acuestas la leña lleuaua tambien,
ser crucificado figura Moysen
con la serpiente que en Cruz leuantaua.

550

Entre ladrones segun le pusieron
dixo Esayas que hauia de estar
y dixo tambien que hauia de rogar
por todos aquellos que muerte le dieron.

555

Y delos escarnios que alli se fizieron
estando enla Cruz lo prophetizo
Dauid en sus Psalmos, y como gusto
la hiel y vinagre que alli le truxeron

560

De guisa que estaua ya prophetizado
hauer de passar el santo Mesias
todas las cosas segun estos dias
el manso cordero Jesus a passado :
Y dize Esayas que ansi señalado
con gracias diuinas se demostrarria
entre los hombres, que tanto seria
con feos tormentos despues deshonrado

565

- Cleophas. Yo creo sin duda que tu deues ser
 Varon alumbrado de Dios ciertamente
 segun los prophetas y ley claramente
 calculas y entiendes, y das a entender?
 Nunca supimos tan claro a mi ver
 de nuestro muy santo Maestro Jesu
 aquestos secretos segun ora tu
 eneste camino nos hazes saber. 575
- Peregrino. Pues esto que digo del lo aprendi
 Lucas. Y como te llaman.
- Peregrino. A mi Emanuel:
 Lucas. Pues nunca nosotros te vimos con el:
 Cleophas. Yo juraria que nunca te vi: 585
- Peregrino. Quiça no pusistes las mientes en mi
 andauan contino con el muchas gentes
 de estrañas naciones, y muy differentes
 y yo mas que todos deuoto le fuy:
 Y muy mas agora despues que murio
 que se cumplia su muerte y passion
 sera prosperado por resurreccion
 y gloria muy grande que alli merecio. 590
- Cleophas. El dia tercero oy se cumplio
 que muerte le dieron tan cruda y estraña
 mas vinas mugeres de nuestra compañia
 nos han dicho cosa que nos espanto:
 Que disen? 595
- Peregrino. Que fueron oy antes del dia
 Cleophas. a la sepultura y el cuerpo no hallaron:
 mas Angeles vieron que les denunciaron
 diciendo que nuestro maestro vivia:
 Y ciertos varones dela compañia
 luego al sepulcro corrieron por cierto
 y nunca hallaron el cuerpo del muerto
 alguno pensamos que lo lleuaria. 600
- Peregrino. Incredulos ciegos y como creeys
 que el cuerpo de Christo Jesus es hurtado
 y al tercero dia resucitado,
 segun el os dixo creer no quereys?
 leed al Propheta Ose, y hallareys
 la resurreccion de vuestro Messias 605
- 610

Lucas.	Jonas lo figura que estuuuo tres dias en la vallena segun hallareys Rabi no nos culpes de nuestro dudar que nuestra flaueza mas ya no alcança del todo perdimos la fe y esperanza despues que le vimos en cruz espirar tu nos la hazes señor recobrar que cierto creemos ser Christo Jesus	615
Peregrino.	Veys el castillo aqui de Emaus yo mas adelante me quiero passar	620
Cleophas.	En todas tus cosas tomamos ya tino que eres de sabios la sciencia y la cumbre tu lo razonas con tal dulcedumbre que nunca sentimos señor el camino Suplicote quieras maestro diuino quedar con nosotros quel sol ya declina no miras que es tarde?	625
Lucas.	Quien de tu doctrina Maestro pudiesse gozar de contino	
Cleophas.	Por Dios que te quedes:	
Peregrino.	Que yo soy contento	630
Cleophas.	Recibe Maestro señor esta cena maguer que no sea tan rica y tan buena segun lo requiere tu mercimiento	
Lucas.	Assientate padre.	
Peregrino.	Ya me assiento	
Cleophas.	Benedicite :	
Peregrino.	Dominus Oculi en ti do todos los hombres esperan: y ansi gran Dios les embias tu mantenimiento	635
Lucas.	Hasta en la forma de la bendicion señor tu pareces al santo Jesu	
Cleophas.	Algun señalado varon eres tu que tanto le imitas en conuersacion.	640
Lucas.	La gran soledad : la pena y passion que por el tenemos en solo mirarte parece que amansa : Rabbi tu nos parte el pan con tus manos de consolacion :	
Peregrino.	Tomad.	645

615 Text: *nuestro.*

Lucas.	Tu no miras quan bien parecia el pan en su corte que esta reuanado?	
Cleophas.	Verdad es por cierto, y ansi esta quebrado segun que el nuestro Maestro partia	
Lucas.	El es.	
Cleophas.	Buen Jesus.	
Lucas.	Mi bien	
Cleophas.	Alegria	650
Lucas.	Maestro.	
Cleophas.	Buen padre	
Lucas.	muy dulce Señor	
Cleophas.	Mi Dios y mi gloria.	
Lucas.	Mi buen Redemptor	
Cleophas.	Mi firme remedio.	
Lucas.	Esperanca mia	
Cleophas.	O dulce consuelo de desconsolados.	
Lucas.	O gozo gozoso de nos affligidos.	655
Cleophas.	O firme remedio de nos ya perdidos.	
Lucas.	Amparo suave de desamparados.	
Cleophas.	Pedimos te padre por tierra prostrados la tu benedicion.	
Lucas.	Pues que ya te vas.	
Cleophas.	Señor ya nos dexas?	
Lucas.	Que es esto Cleophas?	660
Cleophas.	Que gozos excelso?	
Lucas.	Y quan señalados?	
Cleophas.	Porque nos as padre tan presto dexado O gloria tan presto desapareciste?	
Lucas.	Por que los tus rayos tan presto escondiste, do quedasse tu cuerpo tan glorificado?	
Cleophas.	Agora te digo que certificado esta nuestro bien con mucha firmeza.	665
Lucas.	O padre perdona la nuestra dureza que tanto dudamos ser resucitado	
	646 M que bien.	
	650 M Mi alegría!	
	651 M Mi dulce.	
	658 M postrados.	
	665 M do queda.	
	666 M que verificado.	

Cleophas.	O alto mysterio	
Lucas.	O dulce vision,	670
Cleophas.	O ciegos nosotros de turbios sentidos y no conocelle.	
Lucas.	O endurecidos que nunca crey whole su resurreccion.	
Cleophas.	Deuieramos le sacar por razon que hombre pudiera tener en el mundo tal voz, tal presencia, tal rostro jocundo tan altas palabras de contemplacion?	675
Lucas.	O santo maestro Jesus que te vimos hermano Cleophas verdad nos dezian las santas mugeres que visto le auian maguer que nosotros las nunca crey whole.	680
Cleophas.	Mas como en oyrlle nos embouecimos por el camino quando nos hablaua y las escripturas ansi declaraua que todo aquel tiempo no le conocimos.	685
Lucas.	Agora podemos dezir que tenemos cierto el remedio, la gloria y el bien	
Cleophas.	Razon es que vamos a Hierusalem y a nuestros hermanos aquesto contemos	
Lucas.	Vamos y yendo cantando alabemos al resucitado: ya cessan los llantos publique se el gozo con psalmos y cantos por Dios verdadero ya le confessemos.	690

¶ Deo gratias.

Impresso con licencia en Burgos, en casa de
Juan Bautista Varesio: Año, de M.DC.IIJ.

682 *M* nos embebecimos.

AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN SPAIN (1777-1867)

(Continued from page 64)

IV.—FURNISHINGS

According to American travellers, many of these inns were scantily furnished. Adams found little furniture in those where he stopped in 1779, and the floors of some of them were covered with nothing but loose straw.¹ Noah in 1814 put up at a *fonda* in Almería where he says he had a room assigned to him without furniture.² Ticknor writes in 1818: "Even in the large cities it is astonishing to see how much they are behindhand,—how rude and imperfect is their house furniture, and how much is absolutely wanting."³ Mackenzie was impressed with the scantiness of the furniture in 1826. His first room at the *Fonda de Malta*, the best hotel in Madrid, was a room with an uncovered tiled floor and naked beams above, furnished solely with two chairs and a bed in an alcove at one end.⁴ The room into which he moved a few days later was furnished somewhat better.⁵ His room at the best *fonda* in Barcelona impressed him as desolate in comparison with French bedchambers. Of the *Fonda* of the Four Nations on the Rambla he writes: "Being of modern construction we found large and commodious apartments. But to one accustomed to the convenience and luxury of a French bedchamber, my present room was but dreary and desolate." A comfortless bed, a few chairs and a table made up the furnishings in the room.⁶ Some of the country inns

¹ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241.—Swinburne writes in 1776: "If we chance to find a few unbroken chairs we esteem ourselves uncommonly fortunate." P. 116; cf. Townsend, vol. ii, p. 43.

² Noah, p. 167; cf. *ibid.*, p. 171.

³ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 197; cf. *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 212, 300.

⁴ *A Year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 125. Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 113; Borrow, vol. i, p. 162; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 106.

⁵ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 126; cf. *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 38; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 35.

he found practically destitute of furniture.⁷ Mrs. Cushing, about three years later, stopped in Madrid at a very large *fonda* called the *Fontana de Oro*. She makes no complaint of the furniture but to the contrary tells us the room was a handsome one with two neat sleeping and dressing rooms connected with it.⁸ Like Mackenzie, however, she found some of the smaller inns with little or no furniture.⁹ Vassar describes the main room of an Andalusian *venta* where he spent a night in 1842 as having a rude table with benches for the sole furniture; the chambers were completely bare.¹⁰ The rooms of the inns between Murcia and the capital he found generally with no furniture except cot-beds.¹¹ In 1849 the furniture of Warren's room at a Toledan inn consisted of a few worm-eaten chairs, a common brown table, and two dirty looking bedsteads.¹² Mrs. Le Vert in 1855 was impressed with her magnificent rooms at a *casa de huéspedes* in Madrid.¹³ The great improvement in the furnishing of rooms at the capital struck Pettigrew on his second visit to Spain in 1859. The rooms he found as elegant, though in a different style, as those furnished in Paris. At the time of his first visit in 1852 he was impressed, like Dumas some years before, with the rickety pieces of furniture.¹⁴ Also in smaller places in

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 61; cf. Ford, p. 177.—Pecchio, about five years before, was impressed with the scanty furniture in the houses. In a letter dated Briviesca, May 9, 1821, he says: “Una casa del piú mediocre fittabile inglese vale piú che tutto un villagio di Spagna.” Giuseppe Pecchio, *Sei Mesi in Ispagna nel 1821*, Madrid, 1821, p. 6.

⁸ Vol. ii, p. 48.

⁹ Vol. ii, pp. 231, 232. Cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 73; Knick. Mag., vol. xix, p. 122; Wallis, *Spain*, p. 6; Ford, p. 169.

¹⁰ P. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹² P. 111. Cf. p. 89; Schroeder, vol. ii, p. 111.—Dumas enumerates as follows the pieces of furniture in his poorly furnished room at Alcalá la Real in 1846: “D’abord une table vermolue, deux ou trois chaises boîteuses, qui nous ont inspiré si peu de confiance, que l’on a monté pour les remplacer des bancs de la cuisine.” *Impressions de Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 69.—At Sevilla he again complains of rickety chairs, which he does not consider safe to sit on. *Ibid.*, p. 222. Cf. Pettigrew, p. 91; Larra, pp. 286, 450.

¹³ Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 15.

¹⁴ P. 73.—Mrs. Byrne in 1866 found scanty and poor furniture at some of the inns. Byrne, vol. ii, pp. 263, 264.—Borrow speaks of the few pieces of furniture in the apartment where he stopped at Madrid in 1837. Borrow, vol. i,

1859 he notes the scanty furniture.¹⁵ Likewise Mrs. Allen was impressed with the scanty furniture at a *venta* where she stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864.¹⁶ A piece of furniture which impressed several American travellers in Spain before the middle of the nineteenth century was a low table on which meals were served.¹⁷

The American traveller's impressions of the accommodations for sleeping were in many cases very unfavorable. The bed, a piece of furniture which he had always found so indispensable at home, was not infrequently entirely wanting. Adams found very few beds on his journey through Spain in 1779. Not until he reached León did he find one that was clean. At Briviesca, however, he found in a dirty tavern as many as twelve good beds, which were provided with clean sheets.¹⁸ Ticknor on his journey from Barcelona to Madrid in 1818 slept on a bedstead only twice in the course of thirteen days. The remaining nights were passed sleeping in his clothes on the stone floors, which were very uneven.¹⁹

The custom among the common people of sleeping on the floor is frequently noted by American travellers. Adams says the natives usually slept on the floor and sometimes only in straw like animals. At one inn where he stopped in Galicia one side of the fire was a

p. 162.—At Oviedo he also had a scantily furnished room. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 73.—Gautier found bare rooms at an inn beyond Oviedo. On the walls of the dining-room, however, were some engravings, an unheard of luxury according to him. Gautier, p. 67.

¹⁵ P. 299.

¹⁶ P. 486.

¹⁷ Cf. *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 119, 130, 221; *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 63; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 90; *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 176; Noah, p. 134; Ford, p. 181.—In *Scenes in Spain* we read that one which was spread at Archidona was only two feet high.—Dumas found these tables very uncomfortable. Vol. ii, p. 50.—We find this piece of furniture frequently mentioned in Spanish writings. Larra in *El Castellano* says: "Los días en que mi amigo no tiene invitados se contenta con una mesa baja, poco más que banqueta de zapatero; por que él y su mujer, como dice, ¿para qué quieren más?" Larra, p. 37. Cf. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, p. 231; Antonio Flores, *Ayer Hoy y Mañana*, Madrid, 1863, vol. i, p. 31.—This low table was still used at some inns, according to Mrs. Byrne, when she travelled in Spain in 1866. Vol. ii, pp. 254, 263.

¹⁸ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, pp. 242, 247, 253.

¹⁹ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 185; cf. Larra, p. 165.

cabin filled with straw where the innkeeper's wife and four children "all pigged in together."²⁰ Mackenzie at the inn at Guadarrama offered his guide a bed, but the latter preferred to sleep on the floor.²¹ For many, we are told, a bed was a superfluity.²²

The sight of the kitchen floor covered with sleeping muleteers is frequently mentioned by American travellers. Like the muleteer in the *venta* room where Don Quijote rested after his adventure with the *yangüeses*, their beds were made of the pack saddles and blankets of their mules.²³ Mrs. Cushing writes of the sight presented by one of these large kitchens early in the morning:

"When I entered the kitchen to take some chocolate for breakfast, I found the floor covered in every direction with muleteers, who, using their cloaks instead of a bed, were reposing in the deepest slumber, of which their audible breathing gave full evidence."²⁴

Rockwell was impressed by a similar sight. Each muleteer after a hearty meal and a joyful evening wrapt himself in his blanket and lay down in the most convenient place, the ground, the hearth or a bench, and slept until morning.²⁵ Vassar writes of his journey from Granada to Córdoba in 1842: "The first night we slept in a *venta*, upon a brick floor, among horses, mules, drivers, and others

²⁰ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241.—More than thirty years later George Borrow on stopping at a *chosa* on his way to Finisterre from Padrón, was told there was no bed. The occupants had never slept in a bed. They either lay down around the hearth or in the straw with the cattle. Vol. ii, p. 118. Cf. Mackie, p. 142; Ford, p. 183.

²¹ *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 39.

²² Pecchio in one of his letters in 1821 says that the soldiers slept on the floor in the houses of the rich Andalusians in preference to sleeping in a bed. He adds: "Dicevano che non potevano dormire in quelle macchine per loro sconosciute." P. 8.

²³ Cf. *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi; Washington Irving, *Works*, New York, 1882, vol. vii, p. 535; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 234; Ford, p. 183.

²⁴ Vol. ii, p. 233. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47, 181, 279; *A year in Spain*, vol. iii, p. 175; Ford, p. 183.—This recalls one of Pecchio's letters in which he says: "La maggior parte della gente rozza porta in tutte le stagioni sulle spalle una coperta di lana a vari colori che nel giorno le serve di mantello e nella notte di letto." Pp. 6, 7.

²⁵ Vol. i, p. 253. Cf. Longfellow, *Life*, vol. i, p. 129; *A year in Spain*, vol. iii, p. 236.

of bandit appearance."²⁶ There were no beds in the house. Bryant in 1857 observes that muleteers were sleeping on the floor of the inn at Aranda. "We got down stairs by stepping over the bodies of about a dozen muleteers, who, wrapped in their blankets lay snoring on the floor of an ante-chamber."²⁷ Mrs. Allen found no bed at an inn where she stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864.²⁸

Even when the sleeping quarters were not in the kitchen, the traveller frequently found them very primitive at the smaller inns. Mackie on stopping at one of these inns in 1852 had the choice of sleeping with mules on the first floor or on the newly gathered grain in the second.²⁹ Sometimes a bed was prepared on the floor in this room above or in a room adjoining the kitchen.³⁰

Now and then a wretched flock-bed was furnished. It was such a one that the author of *Scenes in Spain* found at Alhama in 1831.³¹ The mattress furnished was often of the poorest description and exceedingly uncomfortable.³² Taylor found his at the *venta* in Gaucin much too short.³³

²⁶ P. 141. Cf. Knick. Mag., vol. xix, p. 122; National Magazine, vol. xi, p. 360.—About four years later Dumas was impressed by the sight of a kitchen floor covered with sleeping muleteers. In passing out of the kitchen at Alcalá la Real early in the morning he had to step over a dozen muleteers asleep on the floor: "Ils s'étaient éparpillés dans la venta. Chacun selon son goût et sa commodité avait pris sa place; l'un couché tout de son long sur le côté gauche ou le côté droit, l'autre adossé au mur, l'autre étendu tout de son long sur le dos avec les deux mains sous sa tête en place de tout oreiller." Dumas, vol. ii, p. 71.

²⁷ Bryant, p. 114. Cf. *Scenes in Spain*, p. 234; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 72, 73; Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 282.

²⁸ Allen, p. 486.

²⁹ Mackie, p. 349. Cf. Ford, p. 183; Flores, vol. i, p. 317.

³⁰ Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 228; ibid., vol. iii, pp. 176, 188; *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 29, 48, 118, 120; Knick. Mag., vol. xix, p. 122; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 410; Pettigrew, p. 299.

³¹ P. 234. Cf. Borrow, vol. i, p. 277; vol. ii, p. 50.

³² Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 38, 39, 337, 339; Bryant, p. 162; Mills, p. 70.—The impression of other foreigners in the country seems to have been similar. Cf. Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 3; Ford, p. 57; Byrne, vol. ii, pp. 271, 319.—Gautier describes the mattress on which he slept one night in 1840 as one of "ces pellicules de toile entre lesquelles flottent quelques tampons de laine que les hôteliers prétendent être des matelas, avec l'effronterie pleine de sang-froid qui les caractérise. P. 197.—Gautier's impressions of this bed were quite as

When a bedstead was furnished, it was, in many instances, but a rude piece of furniture or a makeshift. Mackenzie describes his at Madrid as a set of loose boards supported on two horses and painted green.³⁴ That on which Mrs. Cushing slept at the *posada* in Buytrago was a common wooden frame without posts.³⁵ Bryant was impressed at the *Posada de Alicante* in the town of Villera, Murcia, "with the rude bedsteads which were made of beam and plank by some coarse carpenter."³⁶

For many years the traveller who had to stop at small towns and villages was obliged to carry not only his bedclothes but also his mattress. Adams writes to the President of Congress from

unfavorable as were Don Quijote's impressions of one at the country *venta* where he stopped for a night. "Un colchón que en lo sutil parecía colchón, lleno de bodoques; que, á no mostrar que eran de lana por algunas roturas, al tiento, en la dureza, semejaban de guijarro, y dos sábanas hechas de cuero de adarza, y una frazada cuyos hilos, si se quisieran contar, no se perdiera uno solo de la cuenta." *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi.—According to Mesenero Romanos the beds were sometimes so poor it was impossible to rest. *Panorama Matritense*, p. 108; cf. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 165, 235.

³⁴ Taylor, p. 444.—Pecchio had found the same difficulty some thirty years before. He writes in a letter headed Briviesca May 9, 1821: "Il letto era di un terzo più corto della mia persona che non è gigantesca, come sapete, barcollante, et emulo del pavimento in durezza." P. 5.

³⁵ A year in Spain, vol. i, p. 147; cf. Irving, *Works* vol. vii, pp. 536, 538.—Townsend's description of the makeshift bedstead he found at Junquera forty years before Mackenzie's visit to Spain is quite similar to that just given. He says: "No bedstead, but only three boards laid upon trestles to support a mattress." Vol. i, p. 92.—Gautier's description of a bedstead on which he slept one night during his journey through Spain in 1840 is exactly the same, "formé de trois planches posées sur deux tréteaux." P. 197.—The makeshift bedstead offered Mrs. Byrne at the *fonda* in Valdepeñas in 1864 was even worse. "The repast despatched, we thought it time to see the beds, and consequently asked to be conducted to our rooms; this was quite a poser, and elicited the most curious revelation. It turned out there were no rooms in the case! but the beds, we were told, should be brought in as soon as we wanted them; we begged to see them at once, on which, after a brief delay, three boards were brought in, and placed in an inclined position by resting one end on a bench; this proved to be the best they could produce." Vol. ii, p. 271.—One would conclude from the above descriptions that the bedstead which was sometimes provided for the traveller had improved little since the days of the Knight of La Mancha. Don Quijote says of a bedstead on which he slept one night at a country *venta*: "Solo contenía cuatro mal lesas tablas sobre dos muy iguales bancos." *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi.

³⁶ Vol. ii, p. 39.

³⁶ Bryant, p. 162.

Bilbao January 16, 1779, that on the journey from La Coruña to that place he and his party were obliged to carry their beds with them.³⁷ Jay had to make such a provision for his journey from Cádiz to Madrid in 1780.³⁸ Monroe referring to a wretched inn at Irún in 1804 says: "However, it seemed to be my fate to remain there that night, and in consequence I ordered up my bedding, baggage, etc., with the intention to make the best arrangement I could."³⁹ Noah carried his bed with him during his travels in Spain. At a village inn where he stopped between Tortosa and Tarragona the mattresses were arranged on clean straw in the same room as the mules.⁴⁰ Irving, writing of a journey made from Granada to Valencia in 1829, tells us that his bed at night was the mattress he had brought with him in the cart.⁴¹ Rockwell notes the custom of carrying mattresses in the public conveyances. In 1836 he found them listed in the printed bills of baggage rates and in the receipts for fares.⁴² Vassar had to carry his mattress on a journey between Granada and Córdoba in 1842.⁴³

Somewhat better than the one room *venta* was the *posada* with a common dormitory. Sometimes, according to American travellers, it was a rudely arranged room quite like the *venta* room in which Don Quijote, Sancho, and the *arriero* slept, and sometimes it had several beds. The *posada* at Quintana where Mackenzie stopped for a night in 1826 had a common dormitory.⁴⁴ In 1834 he found a similar arrangement at Guadalajara, and also at Guadarrama. Of the inn at Guadarrama he writes: "According to the custom in Spanish post-houses established in connection with the diligences, we were all packed into a common dormitory."⁴⁵ March in 1852

³⁷ *Rev. dip. corres.*, vol. iii, p. 457. Cf. Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 244; *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 242; Swinburne, pp. 116, 117, 231.

³⁸ *Correspondence*, vol. i, p. 333; cf. Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 8.

³⁹ *Diary*.

⁴⁰ Noah, p. 179. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 136, 163; Ticknor, *Travels*, p. 17.

⁴¹ *Life*, vol. ii, p. 179. Cf. Irving, *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223; *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 65, 66, 68, 80.

⁴² Rockwell, vol. i, p. 252; cf. *Panorama Matritense*, p. 106.

⁴³ Vassar, p. 142.—This custom of carrying one's mattress when travelling is also noted by Spanish writers. Cf. Flores, vol. i, p. 311; *Panorama Matritense*, p. 108; Larra, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 94, 95, 227. Cf. Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 253; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 5; Ford, p. 57.

⁴⁵ *Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 52.

had difficulty in procuring a room to himself at the *posada* in La Luisiana.⁴⁶

The American traveller's impressions of the facilities for bathing at Spanish inns during this period were most unfavorable. In some of the small country inns the means for the morning ablutions were meagre or entirely wanting. Irving writes in his journal at *Venta del Conde* near Canales: "great delay and difficulty in getting wash-basins, water, towels, etc., cleanliness of person not being considered among the wants of the traveller." Their presence is mentioned as though it were a fact worthy of note just as the absence of *pulgas* is mentioned by others. Mackenzie tells us that in the very neat inn at Quintanar there were basins of glazed earthenware and pitchers of water, with a clean towel of coarse linen for each passenger, hanging from nails against the wall.⁴⁷ Dix in 1843 found plenty of clean towels and large wash basins at his lodgings in Cádiz but this was almost the only house in Spain where he did find them.⁴⁸ The following year Schroeder was very gratified to find at the very clean little inn at Loja a good supply of towels and stone ewers.⁴⁹ At a *venta* where Smedberg stopped there was no basin and he was obliged to go down to the stream and bathe.⁵⁰ Many of the wash basins were very small like that which was provided in Mackie's room at the principal *fonda* of Barcelona in 1851.⁵¹

⁴⁶ March, p. 230.—Townsend and Ford mention the common dormitory of the Spanish *posada*. Townsend, vol. ii, *passim*; Ford, p. 57.—Flores writes of the conditions at the old inn: "Terminada la cena se retiraron á dormir, los hombres á un cuarto, y las mujeres á otro, y obligados, por la necesidad, á hacer cama redonda los de cada departamento, pasaron la noche en dos piezas, contiguas á las cámaras de grano, ó tal vez en los graneros mismos." Vol. i, pp. 317, 318.—An inn which impressed Gautier in 1840 was an improvement on the one just mentioned in that it had several sleeping rooms, but even these had each four or five beds: "Cette fois la posada était beaucoup plus espagnole que celles que nous avions vues jusqu'alors: elle consistait en une immense écurie entourée de chambres blanchies au lait de chaux, et contenant chacune quatre ou cinq lits." Gautier, p. 67.

⁴⁷ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 116.

⁴⁸ P. 220.

⁴⁹ Schroeder, vol. ii, p. 110.

⁵⁰ *Nat. Mag.*, vol. ii, p. 360; cf. Ford, p. 177.

⁵¹ Mackie describes it as a very narrow basin resting on a slender stand. "But," he adds, "in a country so much better provided with wine than it is

At times there was difficulty in securing enough water. Bryant was greatly annoyed by this at one of the inns where he stopped in 1857. The incident is recounted as follows in a letter dated "Cartagena, Old Spain, November 28, 1857:"

"The greatest difficulty we had was in obtaining a sufficient supply of water for our morning ablutions. A single large washbowl, half filled with water, was placed on a stand in the corner of the great room, and this was expected to serve for all. We called for more water, and a jar was brought in, from which the washbowl was filled to the brim. We explained that each one of us wanted a separate quantity of pure water, but the stout waiting-woman had no idea of conforming to our outlandish notions, and declined doing any thing more for us. It was only after an appeal to the landlady, that a queer Murcian pitcher, looking like a sort of sky-rocket, with two handles, five spouts, and a foot so small that it could hardly stand by itself, was brought in, and for greater security made to lean against the wall in the corner of the room."⁵²

Even scarcer than wash basins and water at these inns were the facilities for bathing. Toward the middle of the century, however, according to the American travellers, there was marked progress in this respect, as well as in other ideas of comfort. Between 1833 and 1843, in particular, there was great improvement.⁵³ No *fonda* showed this more than did the *Fonda de la Alameda* at Málaga where Wallis stopped in 1847. This *fonda* had been opened only with water—and in a country where even the highest dames are said merely to rub their faces with a moist napkin instead of laving them—what more could be expected? I should have been thought as crazy as he of La Mancha to have found fault with such arrangements." P. 141.

⁵² Bryant, pp. 162, 163.—This experience of Bryant recalls a similar one recounted in *Los aires del lugar* of the *Panorama Matritense*: "Pedimos agua para lavarnos, nos trajeron una jofaina sucia y ordinaria que pusieron sobre una silla, y para hacer que mudaran el agua a cada uno, tuvimos que sostener tantas cuestiones como individuos éramos." Pp. 107, 108.—At Valladolid in 1866 Mrs. Byrne had to ask for an extra supply of washing appliances. At the *fonda* in Córdoba she found no provisions whatever for ablutions. "The rooms," she says, "were wholly unprovided with any furniture suggestive of ablution, and it was not easy even to make our need of such accessories understood." Vol. ii, p. 294.—It was only after a great deal of trouble that they were given washing stands, water, and towels. Mrs. Byrne found the houses not frequented by English travellers were usually deficient in these facilities. Vol. i, p. 106; vol. ii, p. 294. Cf. Ford, p. 142.

⁵³ Cf. Dix, p. 220.

about a month when he reached that city. It owed its establishment, he tells us, to a company of enterprising young men of the city who while abroad had imbibed new ideas as to the needs of a modern inn. An abundant supply of water carried in pipes to the upper floors was plentifully provided in every room.⁵⁴ Other American travellers were greatly impressed by the provisions for bathing at this hotel. Taylor, who stopped here in 1852, found a good bath.⁵⁵ March, who sojourned here the following year while in Málaga, considers it a good hotel and mentions particularly the foot baths which, he informs us, are not generally found at Spanish hotels.⁵⁶ It impressed Bryant in 1857 as one of the best hotels in Spain.⁵⁷

At Granada, baths—in the time of the Moors found in every street and indeed in every house—were not in 1853 general in the *fondas*, though these were in other respects good. These facilities had only recently been introduced at the principal inn, the *León de Oro*. "Baths, that necessary luxury of hotels," writes March, "have but recently been attached to the *fondas* of Spain, nor are now a general institution with them."⁵⁸ In 1851 Mackie notes the absence of this necessity at the principal *fonda* in Barcelona.⁵⁹ And yet Irving, soon after his arrival there in 1829, writes in his journal: "took a warm bath—excellent baths—well tiled."⁶⁰ Among the improvements which impressed Pettigrew on his second visit to Spain in 1859 were the "footbath and the other appliances of a first rate hotel" at Zaragoza.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, pp. 90, 93.

⁵⁵ "At the *Fonda de la Alameda*, a new and very elegant hotel, I found a bath and a good dinner, both welcome things to a tired traveller." P. 434.

⁵⁶ P. 341.

⁵⁷ Bryant, p. 193.

⁵⁸ P. 360.

⁵⁹ P. 141.

⁶⁰ *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 90.—This bath, however, was probably not at the inn but in a *casa de baños*.

⁶¹ P. 73.—Ford found warm baths pretty generally established in the larger towns when he was in Spain. P. 142.—According to Mesenero Romanos great reforms were instituted in connection with the baths at the capital in 1835. However, judging from his difficulty in finding one he must have considered them far too few. In his interesting sketch, *Las Casas de baños*, he says that after much trouble in going from one to another his efforts are crowned with

Some of the early American travellers in Spain were impressed by the primitive and inadequate cutlery. Noah in 1814 took dinner at a village where he was obliged to eat with wooden spoons and forks. "Silver," he says, "is an unknown luxury and other metals are equally scarce."⁶² Ticknor is astonished in 1818 to see how much they are behind in this respect even in the large cities.

"The chief persons in a village—I mean the respectable ecclesiastics the *alcaldes*—often have no glass-ware in their houses, no dinner-knives, and little of earthen manufactory [*sic*] while a metal fork is a matter of curiosity."⁶³

At the *posada* in the village of Ondrubia Mrs. Cushing found three knives for seven people and at the next inn conditions were even worse.⁶⁴ The author of *Scenes in Spain* had placed before him at one of these primitive inns a plate and a horn spoon. When he asked for a knife they brought him a jackknife, but this he was obliged to surrender a few minutes later to the stable boy to whom it belonged.⁶⁵ Channing on the contrary was impressed in 1852 by the plentiful supply of cutlery. He writes: "The table was always neat, and, amidst the mountains, silver or plated forks were as plenty as in the city."⁶⁶

success. On entering the room of one of the newest and best baths in the city he is struck with the improvement that has been made: "Entré en la pieza del baño; encontré en ella sillas para sentarme y colocar mi ropa, una mesa para poner el dinero y el reloj; espejo, cepillos, peines, sacabotas, una pila hermosa de alabastro. ¡Yo estaba absorto! . . . creía no encontrarme en Madrid . . . Por fin, me metí en el agua y . . . callé." *Panorama Matritense*, p. 372.—Mrs. Byrne in 1866 presents quite a different picture of the baths at the capital. She finds them few and little used. Moreover, she is impressed by their bad condition. One which is considered the best she finds very much dilapidated and another has no fireplace or gas. Two others she describes as in tolerably fair working order, but all, in her judgment, are on a small scale. Vol. i, pp. 218, 219.

⁶² P. 182. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166; *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xix, p. 125.

⁶³ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, pp. 197, 198, cf. Ford, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Vol. ii, pp. 34, 35, 37. Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 68; *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 61, 62.

⁶⁵ P. 130. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 119, 121; Ford, pp. 56, 181; *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 234-238.

⁶⁶ Channing, p. 491.

C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

TWO COMMEDIE DELL'ARTE ON THE MEASURE FOR MEASURE STORY

THE two unpublished scenarios that I submit herewith are undoubtedly based upon Giraldi Cintio's *Epizia*, either novella or drama, and as undoubtedly have nothing directly to do with Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, yet as seventeenth century treatments of the popular tragic story presented by both Cintio and Shakespeare they have a considerable interest. The first is taken from the collection of scenarios identified by A. Valeri as Basilio Locatelli's work,¹ one of the most used, apparently, of his large repertory, for it was copied in the selection from his scenarios still existing at the Corsiniana in Rome and very probably was the basis of the later play, of which I give a copy, from the Neapolitan collection discovered by Benedetto Croce and by him given to the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.² This second play belongs to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, whereas Locatelli's dates from about 1622.

Both pieces offer proof of the willingness of the travelling professional actors who created the *commedia dell'arte* to take material from whatever academic *novelle* or dramas they thought would be effective on the stage. The dramatic irony, amounting almost to a grim practical joke, inherent in the *Measure for Measure* story, evidently appealed to them with comic rather than with tragic force: it will be seen they lost no chance to amuse their audience by their usual disguises, quarrels, forced love-making, etc., even though all the while they were accepting the tragic end of their plot as inevitable and desirable for reasons of poetic justice. The consequent lack of unity of tone would have troubled Scala and the *Gelosi* or Andreini and the *Fedeli*, but evidently did not annoy the presenters of

¹ Valeri, A., *Gli scenari inediti di Basilio Locatelli*, Roma, 1894.

This collection in two volumes of MSS. was discovered in the Casanatense Library in Rome, marked F. IV, 12-13; the scenario in question is No. 53 of vol. II. Cf. E. Re's list of known *commedie dell'arte* taken from Giraldi's *Episia, Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. 62, p. 178, note.

² Croce, B., *Una nuova raccolta di scenarii, Gior. stor.*, vol. 29, pp. 211 ff.

Locatelli's scenario or their Neapolitan imitators; both of these plays are naïvely satisfactory in their pageant-like ending, in both the demands of morality are superficially met by the punishment of the villains, and any preceding flippancy of incident and mood is regarded as mere adornment. Whether either play could ever have been given in Paris or out of Italy it is impossible to determine in view of the lack of knowledge about the writers of the two pieces.

Before concluding this brief introductory note it is a pleasure to thank for their help in copying the scenarios Sig. Umberto Pagnoni of the Casanatense staff in Rome and Dott. G. M. Monti of Naples, both of whom were more than courteous to me in their assistance while I was in Italy last spring. The punctuation and spelling are reproduced exactly in both scenarios.

WINIFRED SMITH

VASSAR COLLEGE

IL GIUSTO PRINCIPE

TRAGEDIA

di

Basilio Loccatello Romano.

Personaggi.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Principe. | 8. Cintia figlia. |
| 2. Franzese Giudice. | 9. Burattino. |
| 3. Capitano Corteggiano. | 10. Franceschina. } Servi. |
| 4. Corte. | 11. Gratiano. |
| 5. Zanni. | 12. Lelio figlio. |
| 6. Filippo moglie. } Servi. | 13. Messo. |
| 7. Pantalone. | 14. Villano. |

La scena si finge Padova.

Robbe.

Una sedia d'appoggia di velluto.
 Divano per il Giudice e per il Principe.
 Due archibugi.
 Prigione, Portone per prospettivo.
 Trombetta, bacile per la testa, manto nero.
 Una tavola segata ed il bacile.

ATTO PRIMO

PRINCIPE
FRANZESE
ZANNI
CORTE

di palazzo dice come alcuni suoi castelli si vogliono ribellare, però esser risoluto andar lui in persona, per rimediare al tutto, lascia Franzese per governare raccomandandoli la giustizia e così lo fa barigello, che devino tener quieto lo stato suo sotto pena della sua disgrazia, tutti partono per accompagnare il Principe sino alla porta della città per strada.

PANTALONE

di casa dice voler maritare Cintia sua figliuola per essere assai grande, colui esser stato all'oraculo quale li ha dato risposta che lei ha d'avere due mariti in un giorno, sta confuso, non sa quello che vogli significare, Burattino dice sarà un marito per il giorno e l'altro per la notte, alla fine dopo l'atti battono in questo

CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di casa intende volerla maritare, li sono proposti molti mariti parte da Pantalone e parte da Burattino. Ora gli si propone lui stesso facendo atti degli due mariti, che lui ne meno la piglierebbe. Cintia rifiuta tutti, alla fine gli è proposto Lelio gentiluomo del Principe e figliuolo di Gratiano. Cintia esser contenta. Cintia, Franceschina in casa. Pantalone, Burattino per onor Lelio partono per strada.

ZANNI

di strada dice aver accompagnato il Principe, si ralegra dell'offizio datoli in questo

FILIPPA

di palazzo intende come Zanni suo marito è fatto dal principe bargello, colui dice che vuole che lei si vesta da uomo e facci il suo luogotenente per il guadagno, fanno atti. Filippa si contenta di fare il tutto entrano in palazzo.

FRANZESE
CAPITANO

di strada dice di aver accompagnato il principe alla porta della città, di poi Franzese si mostra essere innamorato di Cintia figliuola di Pantalone, batte in q°.

CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di casa intende l'amor del Franzese e esser stato fatto Governatore dal Principe, lei con bel modo

non vuol intender nulla. Cintia, Franceschina in casa, Franzese in collera dice volerla godere per forza, Franzese, Capitano in palazzo.

PANTALONE
BURATTINO

di strada che si chiami Lelio per ragionarli del parentado con Cintia sua figliuola in q°.

LELIO

di strada intende l'animo di Pantalone di darli moglie la figlia, lui dice non poter dar risoluzione senza Gratiano suo padre in q°.

GRATIANO

di casa intende del parentado s'accordano col Pant. si contenta chiamano in q°.

CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di casa intende esser fatta sposa con Lelio fanno complimenti, così toccano la mano di Lelio, Cintia, Franceschina in casa. Burattino, Pantalone, Gratiano per strada per andare alle nozze.

Fine dell' Atto primo.

ATTO SECONDO.

FRANZESE
CAPITANO
ZANNI
FILIPPA

di palazzo da un mandato a Filippa quale apparisce da uomo per essere luogotenente di Zanni che meni prigioni alcuni malfattori e a Zanni è ordinato che vadì fuori in campagna contro li banditi e lasci il suo luogotenente. Zanni con abito da Bargello entra in sospetto della moglie di lasciarla sola per gelosia. Franzese ordina al Capitano che facci quel (corso?) che gli ha imposto. Capitano che farà il tutto. Franzese e Zanni in palazzo Capitano con Filippa resta in q°.

PANTALONE

di strada dice aver bisogno di denari per spendere per le nozze e che bisogna che facci eseguire alcuni mandati contro li suoi debitori, dà li mandati a Filippa, luogotenente di Zanni facendoli carezze che li facci il servizio di farli l'esecuzione. . . .

ZANNI

di palazzo entra in gelosia di Pantalone e di Filippa sua moglie vedendoli che'l fa carezze lo afferma, facendolo si ha come li prova la pistola, dice esser gentil'huomo della Corte, alla fine dopo molti atti la lascia con gelosia mena seco la moglie. Zanni con Filippa in palazzo, Pantalone dice

voler andar a trovar Gratiano parte per strada, Capitano resta dice voler far quello che li ha ordinato il Franzese Governatore, batte in q°.

- CINTIA di casa il Capitano fa alcune parole di complimento, che voglia andar seco in palazzo. Cintia ricusa, alla fine il Capitano la vuol menare per forza. Cintia grida chiamando aiuto in q°.
- FRANCESCHINA di casa con una scopa batte il Capitano gridandoli con bravure e facendo rumore in q°.
- LELIO di casa corre al rumore vede il Capitano vuol forzare Cintia vengono a parole Lelio caccia mano alla spada e ammazza il Capitano in q°.
- ZANNI
FILIPPA
CORTE di palazzo fanno prigione Lelio, fanno portar dentro il morto, Zanni, Filippa, Corte, Lelio in prigione. Per strada Franceschina, Cintia piangendo delle loro disgrazie entrano in casa.
- PANTALONE
GRATIANO
BURATTINO di strada hanno dato ordine per il banchetto delle nozze e per le feste che si hanno da fare allegri battono in q°.
- CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA di casa piangendo fanno l'atti del sangue, alla fine dicono come Lelio è fatto prigione per aver ammazzato il Capitano quale la voleva menar per forza in palazzo, essi si dolgono dicono voler andar a liberar Lelio di prigione. Cintia, Franceschina in casa essi restano in q°.
- FRANZESE di palazzo vien pregato da tutti a liberar Lelio di prigione scolpendo la penitenza del Capitano, Franzese tira da parte Gratiano dicendoli che per liberar Lelio della vita il rimedio è che mandino Cintia in palazzo che lui la vuol godere e che poi li darà Lelio libero. Franzese entra in palazzo Gratiano dice l'odio del giudice alla fine dopo molti atti concludono mandar Cintia questa notte in palazzo aviso che il Franzese la goda per salvar la vita a Lelio, fanno atti dell'onore e battono casa in q°.

**CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA**

di casa dicono che per salvar la vita a Lelio bisogna che lei vadi in palazzo e farsi godere dal giudice, fanno atti, Cintia dice volerlo dire a Lelio, se si contenta che non gli vuol far torto in q°.

LELIO

di prigione alla ferrata intende da Cintia come che per salvarli la vita è necessario che vadi al palazzo e farsi godere, Lelio la riprende ed in collera rientra dentro, essi concludono che sia bene mandarla in palazzo. Burattino in collera, Gratiano e Franceschina accompagnano Cintia ed entrano in palazzo. Pantalone Burattino partono per strada.

**ZANNI
FILIPPA**

di prigione grida che vuol sapere tutto quello che li ha fatto con li guardiani mentre che lui giocava in prigione. Filippa alla fine confessa esserli palesato prudenza(?) e haverla goduta tutti li guardiani. Zanni in collera li tira un archibugiata e l'ammazza e la porta via, dice portarla nel bosco parte per strada.

Fine dell'Atto secondo.

ATTO TERZO.

**GIUDICE
CORTE**

di palazzo allegro per aver goduto Cintia ed aver havuto il suo piacere in q°.

VILLANO

di strada porta in spalla Filippa moglie di Zanni morta, dice averla portata Zanni nel bosco quando l'aveva ammazzata. Franzese li fa portare in palazzo. Villano in palazzo. Franzese dice voler rimediare a questi inconvenienti in q°.

ZANNI

di strada dice aver portato la moglie nel bosco. Franzese lo vedo lo fa pigliar prigione, li dimanda del luogotenente suo. Zanni impaurito confessa averlo ammazzato. Franzese dice voler ordinare che li facci giustizia grande poi entra in palazzo.

**PANTALONE
BURATTINO**

di casa, che oramai Cintia si potrà stare a tornare con Lelio suo marito secondo l'ha promesso il Giudice dolendosi di esso si consolano in q°.

GRATIANO
CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di palazzo che il giudice li ha promesso di mandarli quanto prima Lelio fuori di prigione essendo il Giudice soddisfatto, Burattino fa atti della mala notte, Pantalone abbraccia la figliuola quasi che piangendo per tenerezza dolendosi dell'onor concesso per aver macchiato l'onor suo però si conforta per la liberazione di Lelio. Pantalone, Gratiano, Burattino dicono volerla andare ad incontrare. Franceschina in casa, Cintia resta dicendo che vuol stare aspettando il suo sposo finchè venghi in q°.

MESSO

di strada con un bacile coperto ed un velo nero presenta a Cintia un presente da parte del Giudice, pone in terra il bacile. Messo parte per strada. Cintia resta sospesa come per saper quello che sia, alla fine scopre il bacile e vede la testa di Lelio. Tramortisce pel dolore e poi subito rientra in sè dolendosi dell'iniquità del Giudice piangendo d'aver perduto il marito morto, fa lamenti in q°.

PANTALONE
GRATIANO
BURATTINO

di strada che Lelio già sarà relasciato di prigione, vedono Cintia che sta piangendo sopra la testa di Lelio, tutti si lamentano della crudeltà del giudice et voler ricorre al Principe, portano via la testa, tutti entrano in casa.

CORTE

di palazzo con tappeti e sedia accomodano dicendo che il Principe è venuto di fuori sonando le trombe per allegrezza in q°.

PRINCIPE
FRANZESI

di palazzo dice esser tornato indietro per aver avuto nuove che si sono accomodati li nemici dei suoi stati, dimanda della quiete e della giustizia. Franzese dice esservi molti prigionieri per gravissime cause. Principe manda che siano menati fuori li prigionieri in q°.

PANTALONE
GRATIANO
CINTIA

di casa si buttano alli piedi del principe gridando giustizia, li narrano l'iniquità del Giudice e tutto il seguito facendoli vedere la testa di Lelio. Franzese confessa il tutto, principe ordina che il Franzese debba sposare Cintia facendoli donazione di tutto il suo, il che si fa. Tutti ringraziano il Principe della cortesia fattali in q°.

ZANNI
CORTE

di prigione lasciato dice il tutto, aver ammazzato Filippa sua moglie per onore narrandoli che la mordacca (?) vestita da uomo avendola fatta suo luogotenente. Principe ordina che Zanni sia mandato in galera per dirci così ed al Franzese li sia tagliata la testa. Fanno la mostra di tagliar la testa al Franzese e finisce la tragedia.

L'INGIUSTO RETTORE.

ATTO PRIMO.

Re di Danimarca	Orazio coppiero del	apparenze
Principe figlio	Re	Camera
Coviello servo	D. Inesa figlia al dot-	Città con carceri
Dottore e	tore	Tempio ed oraculo
Tartaglia, consiglieri	Rosetta sua serva	Camera di spettacoli.
Schiavo, servi.	Pollicinella servo	
	Rosalba da se.	

Prima Scena (Camera)

RE

sopra la ribellione de' popoli di Sparta, chiede consiglio, che deve fare. tutti loro parere, infine Re risolve andarvi di persona, lascia il principe Carlo al governo, li raccomanda la giustizia, l'onore delle donne, e che vadino tutte velate, e tutti partono via. Resta Principe sopra l'amor di D. Inesa e Coviello di Rosetta, in quello Rosalba prega il Principe, lui sdegnandola via, Coviello lo siegue, lei disperata entra.

(Tempio ed Oraculo)

DOTTORE viene dicendo a

POLLICINELLA suo servo, esser la partenza del re cagione della mestizia del popol tutto, tratta aver casata la figlia col Coppiere del Re, ed esser quello un galante giovene ed haversi sogniato un sogno molto spaventevole, e volere andare dal oraculo et potere interpretare il sogno, e viano dall'oraculo. sua risposta loro sdegnati via.

ORACULO

(Città)

Orazio coppiero, l'amor di d. Inesa, e chiama.

ROSETTA dopo scena, chiama.

- D. INESA dice, che la chieda al padre, lui che di già trattò il madrimonio, eccolo Covielo accelerarlo veloce, donne in casa e lui via a solecitare il dottore.
- COVIELLO E PRINCIPE viene dicendo a Covielo la rigidezza di d. Inesa, e volere di nuovo scoprirsì, fa battere da.
- D. INESA lo sdegna ed entra, lui goderla per forza, e sdegnato via, Covielo chiama.
- ROSETTA l'istesso della padrona, ed entra, Covielo disperato via.
- ORATIO DOTTORE coppiero viene solecitando il per le nozze di d. Inesa sua figlia, lui contento per li capitolii partono.
- PRINCIPE COVIELLO viene dando ordine a che si chiami lo schiavo, e di sua parte vadi a chiamar d. Inesa, e se quella non voleva venire, la facci da quello portar per forza, e via, Covielo ed il schiavo parte.
- DOTTORE allegri aver fatti li scritti, e per toccar la mano battono.
- ORATIO E POLLICINELLA inteso con allegrezza, chiama
- ROSETTA tocca la mano ad Oratio, dottore li fa entrare, e
- D. INESA lui e Pollicinella per comprar cose dolci, viano.
- COVIELLO E SCHIAVO dice al schiavo, che lui chiamerà d. Inesa, e li farà l'ambasciata del principe, e quando quella ricusasse, che per forza la porti via, batte.
- D. INESA inteso, li da un schiaffo, lui chiama il schiavo, e dice che per forza la porti via, schiavo vol portarla, lei grida, in questo da casa bastona lo schiavo, quello tira la sciabola, Oratio li spara con la pistola, e l'uccide ed entra in casa, e Covielo con il morto finiscono l'atto e via.
- ORATIO
- Atto II
(Camera)
- COVIELLO viene palesando al
- PRINCIPE la morte dello schiavo, principe adirato chiama.
- ORATIO lo rimprovera, lui parla risentito al principe, principe chiama

TARTAGLIA

principe ordina la carcerazione di quello, e che sotto pena della disgrazia, non li facci parlare a nissuno, ed anche dà ordine che le donne della città vadino svelate sino al petto, e che facci pubblicare l'editto, e via; Tartaglia, che da consigliere era fatto sbirro e banditore, porta il consiglio prigionero e via.

(Città)

POLLICINELLA
TARTAGLIA

avere lasciato il dottore a comprar le cose dolci, in questo da dentro sonando viene fuori. Pollicinella si ritira, butta il bando, Pollicinella di dentro fa lazzi, in fine Pollicinella via, e Tartaglia per esser fatto anche carciero parte.

(Carceri)

ORATIO
POLLICINELLA
DOTTORE

fa lamento alle carceri, ed entra.
viene raccomandando al
il bando che per la città s'era buttato per ordine
del Principe, Dottore, che quello era un tiranno,
e s'en ride, e vogliono entrare in casa, in questo

ROSETTA E
D. INESA

per andare alle carceri, vedono il padre, e li dicono
il tutto della carcerazione di Oratio, e chiamano
alle carceri.

ORATIO

fa scena con la moglie, li raccomanda la riputazione,
dottore dubita della sua vita, e che quello
era un tiranno, e voleva far fingere corrispondenza
alla figlia, finchè lui era fuori, e poi prenderanno
la fuga. Oratio, che non voleva quello ma più
tosto voleva morire. Pollicinella dice che lui
voleva aiutarlo con vestirsi da donna, e fingere
una sua sorella ed entrare a parlarsi, e così lo
vestiva da donna e lo faceva uscire, e lui resterà
in sua vece, ma non sa come entrare, Rosetta li
dice che vadi lui a vestirsi femina, che per entrare
li basterà l'animo a lei di farlo entrare, lo manda
a vestirlo da donna, loro si licenziano, Oratio entra,
loro per vestir Pollicinella entrano in casa,
Rosetta resta, in questo,

COVIELLO

la rimprovera di crudele, lei dice essere onorata,
e tanto basti; Covielo la minaccia, e che ancora

TARTAGLIA

se la padrona non vol contentare il principe, che moriva il marito, e via, lei resta e chiama carciero, quello la vede, l'amoreggia, e li dice quando sarà sua, lei lo priega di far parlar sua sorella col carcerato, Tartaglia che non puo che il principe non vuole, lei, che se non li farà questo piacere, non sarà mai sua, quello lusingato dice, purchè si si goderanno insieme la compiacerà, lei che porterà la sorella, e loro andranno a godere, Tartaglia allegro entra e lei chiama

POLLICINELLA

da donna, lo concerta finger la voce, e che si copra il volto, e Pollicinella porta un altro vestito involto per Oratio, volendo fingere che siano biancherie, e Rosetta chiama

TARTAGLIA

fa entrare Pollicinella da donna, e loro restano, Tartaglia dice a Rosetta che vadino a godersi, lei dice che al ritorno della sorella andrà a ritrovarlo alla sua camera, Tartaglia allegro entra, e lei esserli riuscita l'inventione, entra in casa.

PRINCIPE

aver fatto bene di far pubblicare editto per la città,

COVIELLO

ed averne veduto delle belle, e godutone molte, e voler ancora goder tutta la città, in questo,

ORATIO

da donna col volto velato, dalle carceri, Principe si ammira per il bando emanato, e quella andar velata, ordina si scuopra, lei di no, principe vol scovrirla per forza, lo scovre e vede Oratio e chiama

TARTAGLIA

principe lo rimprovera, lui che era entrata la sorella per visitarlo ed era anche nelle carceri, principe s'era bella, lui di si, principe voler god- erla, ordina la chiami, lui entra, e poi fuori portando

POLLICINELLA

da donna, principe si sdegna, ordina si frusti, e torni prigione Oratio, e parte, Tartaglia li porta dentro.

DOTTORE
POLLICINELLA

da casa per saper l'esito di Pollicinella, in questo a cavallo al sumaro frustandosi finisce l'atto 2°.

ATTO 3°

PRINCIPE

in ogni conto voler goder d. Inesa, dice a

COVIELLO

che chiami, lui bene,

D. INESA

Principe di nuovo la priega, lei ricusa, lui per forza pigliandola per un braccio la porta via.

- POLLICINELLA dice esser stato onorato da tutta la città, e correre a vederlo passare a cavallo, ed averci andato quantità di genti appresso; in questo dice, lei non voler frustati; sono a contesa, in questo
- ROSETTA li placa, chiede della figlia, Rosetta dice, che il principe l'ha portata per forza via, dottore s'infuria, e Pollicinella dice esser stato veridico l'oraculo, dottore adirato parte, Pollicinella lo siegue, Rosetta entra.
- DOTTORE portando per mano ringraziandola godimenti, lei li chiede la grazia del marito, lui di sì, e chiama
- PRINCIPE li parla all'orecchio, e lo manda dentro, Coviello dice che si trattenghi, ed entra, principe, che adesso haverà il marito, e via, lei allegra, rimane, in questo
- D. INESA S'apre camerone alle carceri.
- COVIELLO legato al palo morto strazzato, lei suo lamento, e via.
- ORATIO (Si chiude la camera)
- DOTTORE E dicono esser venuto il re, e che vogliono andare a chiederli giustizia, partono.
- POLLICINELLA TARTAGLIA allegro per la venuta del re vittorioso, e via per incontrarlo.
- RE ammirato non havere avuto nissuno all'incontro, in questo
- TARTAGLIA chiedono giustizia, in questo
- DOTTORE POLLICINELLA ROSETTA
- D. INESA
- PRINCIPE di nera cerca onore, sposo e giustizia, Re che si chiami il Principe, in questo
- Re fa sposare d. Inesa, Re dice che l'ha ristituito l'onore, e lo sposo, li dice che chiede altro. Lei voler giustizia, Re condanna a morte il figlio, e tutti via, lui suo lamento, ed entra
- COVIELLO TARTAGLIA dicono della crudeltà del Re, che ha condannato alla morto il figlio, e che stava per eseguirsi la sentenza, in questo
- TROMBA loro atterriti dicono che si eseguiva la giustizia s'apre spettacolo con il talamo, e la testa del principe, e finiscono la tragedia.

Robbe.

Pistola carica, tromba, ricapito per dar la frosta, da donna per Orazio e per Pollicinella, con manti di lusso per d. Inesa e Rosetta.

Talamo con testa, e tutto il necessario per il spettacolo, palo e fune per spettacolo.

Abiti per l'oracolo.

REVIEWS

F F Communications. Edited for the Folklore Fellows by Johannes Bolte, Kaarle Krohn, Axel Olrik, C. W. von Sydow. Nos. 32-41, Helsingfors, Hamina, Sortavala, and Porvoo, 1920-1921.

Of the ten numbers (32-41) of the *F F Communications* received since my last *compte rendu* in the ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. xi (1920), pp. 187-194, one (No. 32) contains a continuation of Nos. 30-31, *Der Ackerbau im Volksaberglauben der Finnen und Esten* by A. V. Rantasalo; one (No. 33) gives a list of Finnish Märchenvarianten supplementary to the one published as No. 5 in 1911; and two (Nos. 36, 39) are in reality reprints of two chapters in the forthcoming fourth (and final) volume of Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen to the Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm.

The six new contributions are: No. 34, *Verzeichniss der böhmischen Märchen von Vaclav Tille, übersetzt aus dem Böhmischem*, I, Nos. 1-8, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 371; No. 35, *Eiel Aspelin-Haapkylä als Urheber der neuervolkskundlichen Sammlerarbeit der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft*, von Kaarle Krohn, Helsingfors, 1920, pp. 10; No. 37, *Les Contes populaires de la Flandre; Aperçu général*, par Maurits de Meyer, Helsingfors, 1921, pp. 100; No. 38, *Die Grundlagen des Reinecke Fuchs. Eine vergleichende Studie* von Adolf Graf, Helsingfors, 1920, pp. 135; No. 40, *K. F. Karjalainin*, von Kaarle Krohn, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 14; and No. 41, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, von K. F. Karjalainen I Übersetzt von Oskar Hackman, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 204.

The above ten numbers complete volumes V-VIII and are of great value and interest for comparative studies in the field of folktales. This is especially the case with Nos. 34, 37, and 38. The first of these is the beginning of an extensive catalogue of Bohemian *märchen*, the original of which was submitted some years ago to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences in Prague and accepted for publication. At the same time the editors of the *F F Communications* expressed their readiness to publish a German translation of the work. The war delayed these publications and as the unfavorable conditions of printing rendered impossible the immediate publication of the original the Finnish Academy of Sciences provided for the printing of the translation. The first instalment contains the various versions of stories belonging to eight great classes of tales: the unknown victor, the princesses in the underworld, the stolen wife (bride), the magic maiden, the princesses in the distance, the wooing with tests, the magic strife, and the child of fate. Some four hundred and twelve versions are analyzed, and in an index are given references to Anti Aarne's *Märchentypen* and the corresponding stories in Chauvin's *Bibliothèque des ouvrages arabes*, Cosquin's *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen*, Polívka's *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, and Lessken and Brugmann's *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* with Wollner's notes. When the work is completed a general index will be given of the contents of the materials, a list of the incidents which occur in the text, and a description of the complete Bohemian collections with some account of the manner and arrangement

of the catalogue. When this great undertaking is finished the student of *märchen* will have at his disposal a great mass of new material conveniently arranged for reference.

Another work of similar nature is No. 37, containing a catalogue of all the Finnish variants of popular tales, arranged according to Anti Aarne's *Märchentypen*. The author gives a general outline of the study of the popular tale in Flanders, a bibliography, information concerning the catalogue, and (pp. 37-94) the list of variants. The work closes with an appreciation of Alfons de Cock, the master of Flemish folklore, whose death occurred while the present work was in press. As with the Catalogue of Bohemian *märchen* just mentioned, so here a great mass of Flemish variants is made accessible for the first time to the student of *märchen*. For the first time also attention is called to the publications of the Flemish missionaries in Africa, a considerable number of stories from which are mentioned in the Catalogue and listed in the bibliography.

Of general interest also is No. 38, Graf's comparative study of the bases (*Grundlagen*) of Reineke Fuchs. In the present investigation the author treats only the original *Reinaert* which corresponds to the first book of *Reineke Fuchs*. The author finds a twofold basis for *Reineke Vos* and the mediaeval animal epic: the fable of antiquity and the European *volksmärchen*, whose roots are to be sought on the one hand in indigenous sources and on the other in the Orient. As a component part of the animal epic comes, in the third place, the animal jests (*Schwänke*), developed in monastic circles, which may in general be considered as the fable of antiquity regarded from the point of view of the cloister. These three sources are examined at great length through the principal and secondary episodes of the epic. The results are summed up on pp. 128-131 and consist in estimating the influences of the three original sources on the various versions and episodes of the epic.

Besides the brief notice of de Cock mentioned above, two numbers (35 and 40) are devoted to more extensive obituary notices by Kaarle Krohn of scholars who have distinguished themselves in the field of Scandinavian folklore. The first is Eliel Aspelin-Haapikylä, considered as the founder of the modern folklore collections of the Finnish Literary Society. He was born in 1847, the son of a pastor in one of the East Bothnian parishes. He attended school at Jacobstad and Wasa. At that time the language used in all the schools of Finland was Swedish, but the sentiment of teachers and scholars was in favor of Finnish nationality. After the completion of his studies he was made docent in aesthetics and the history of art. In 1892 he became professor "ausserordentlich" of aesthetics and modern literature, and in 1901 regular professor. He was the author of a history of the Finnish theatre, and of extensive biographies of Finnish artists and men of letters. He was a member of the Finnish Literary Society in his student days, and later became and continued its president until his death in 1917. He was also one of the founders of the Finnish Academy of Sciences and its first president.

The second obituary (No. 40), also by Kaarle Krohn, is that of Karjalainen, author of the *Religion of the Jugra Peoples* (No. 41), to which we shall presently return. He was born in 1871 at Kajana, a little town on the northeast frontier of Finland. His parents were in narrow circumstances and he was so unfortunate as to lose his mother (from whom he seems to have inherited his talents) when he was between seven and eight years old. He early attracted the attention of his

teachers and was enabled to complete his studies by their aid and his own extraordinary industry and self-sacrifice. Before he had left the university he was sent by the Finnish Literary Society to collect the vocabulary of the Carelian dialect in the government of Archangel. He performed a similar mission during two vacations in the governments of Twer and Olonetz. He also pursued general historical studies with a view to a university chair in history. There was at that time no pecuniary support for historical study abroad, but the Finnish-Ugrian Society provided means for his residence for several years among the Ostiaks in Siberia. He spent nearly five years there and on his return wrote his dissertation on certain phonological topics in Ostiak. He afterwards occupied various academic positions and continued his researches in the different Ostiak dialects and mythology. His great work on the religion of the Jugra peoples has now been made generally accessible by the German translation by Oskar Hackman in *F F Communications*, No. 41. Karjalainen died very suddenly in 1919.

The two scholars commemorated above are inspiring examples of patriotic devotion to the intellectual interests of their country.

The monumental work of Karjalainen just mentioned, the first part of the translation of which fills the 204 pages of No. 41, is of extraordinary interest and novelty. The topics embraced in this first instalment are: Conceptions of the nature of man, birth and death, and the dead. Under the last named subject are included, of course, funeral rites, with illustrations of the curious Ostiak surface burial in wooden chests, a custom found only among the inhabitants of the farthest northwest, where the ground, even in summer, is frozen a few inches below the surface. Many interesting details are given, to be added to the vast body of accounts of primitive customs already amassed by scholars and explorers.

Again, I earnestly call to the serious attention of students in this country these remarkable contributions to knowledge. The numerous lists, catalogues, analyses of folktales and themes here given place at the command of investigators a huge mass of material the very existence of which a few years ago was known only to a handful of Northern scholars. That so precious an enterprise as the *F F Communications* should be carried out in a country like Finland in these troublous times should fill American scholars not only with envy but with a determination to aid the undertaking by their adhesion to the society and by spreading the knowledge of the remarkable results attained in the comparatively few years of its existence.

T. F. CRANE

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

*Norske Folkeminne utgjørne av den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommission. II.
Norske Eventyr. En systematisk fortægnelse efter trykte og utrykte Kilder.
Ved Reidar Th. Christiansen. Kristiania, 1921, 8vo, pp. xi, 152.*

In various reviews of the *F F Communications* I have called attention to the extraordinary wealth of materials now first made accessible to scholars by the catalogues and lists of collections of folktales preserved in Scandinavian libraries and learned societies. These catalogues and lists are arranged in accordance with Anti Aarne's "märchentypen," and as each related story or incident bears the same number as its congeners wherever occurring reference is greatly facilitated. Some of these catalogues and lists are very extensive and the student

of comparative folktales finds the most difficult part of his work already accomplished for him.

The latest addition to these catalogues and lists is by Reidar Th. Christiansen, whose study of *The Tale of the Two Travellers, or the Blinded Man*, in *F F Communications* No. 24, I have already noticed, as well as his earlier article (No. 18) on the Finnish and Norse variants of the second *Merseburgerspruch*. The work before us far exceeds these in extent and difficulty, and is a monument of patient labor which only the special student can adequately estimate. It consists of nothing less than an exhaustive analysis of all the Norwegian *märchen* preserved in printed books or in manuscript collections in the various libraries of Norway. The number of stories registered is huge and the analysis designates accurately the incidents in the innumerable variants of each tale. The arrangement of the variants is strictly geographical, and every story and incident is preceded by two numerals, a Roman one indicating one of the eighteen counties (*Fylker* or *Amt*) of Norway, and an Arabic one showing the townships within those counties. This elaborate geographical distribution finds its key in O. Rygh's great work *Norske Gaardnavne*, Kristiania, 1897 and following years. The eighteenth volume, which will complete the work, is not yet published. The list of sources fills thirteen pages and includes a large amount of unprinted material found in the *Norsk Folkeminnesamling* in Kristiania. For the first time the student can form a just idea of the amazing extent of the labors of P. C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe, not to speak of a host of other collectors of folklore.

Thanks to the various catalogues and lists published in the *F F Communications* and to the present work of Christiansen, the great body of Northern tales is now accessible to students and most conveniently arranged for purposes of comparison.

T. F. C.

Antologia Portuguesa organizada por Agostinho de Campos: Trancoso. Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo. Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand. Paris-Lisbon, 1921. 16mo, pp. lvii, 274.

In the introduction to the second volume of his *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907, Menéndez y Pelayo gives a detailed account of the short story or *novela* in the Iberian peninsula. The earliest tales of this kind go back to the translations of Oriental storybooks or of *exempla* originally intended for the use of preachers. Aside, however, from the very characteristic *El Conde Lucanor*, the Spanish short story was for over a century a translation or imitation of the Italian *novella*. In my *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* I have shown the extraordinary vogue of collections of short stories, the frame of which is an imitation of the introduction to the *Decameron*. This is peculiarly true of the seventeenth century, although the greatest of all Spanish stories at the beginning of this period, Cervantes's *Novelas Ejemplares*, had no frame in which the stories were fitted. This is also the case with another very interesting collection of moral stories published in Portugal some thirty-eight years earlier by Gonçalo Fernandes, Trancoso. The absence of a frame in this latter work is all the more remarkable since the author wrote it to assuage the sorrow caused by the death at Lisbon in the plague of 1569 of his wife, daughter, a son, and nephew.

Trancoso's work was frequently reprinted (some fifteen editions between

1575 and 1764 are mentioned by the bibliographers) and he enjoyed great popularity in his own country, but his stories were not reprinted after 1764, and all editions are now scarce. His memory was kept alive only by bibliographers and historians of Portuguese literature until Theophilo Braga published in 1883 nineteen of Trancoso's thirty-eight tales in his *Contos Tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*. Oporto, vol. II, pp. 62-128. The stories published by Braga were those of interest to students of popular tales. For a similar reason Sousa Viterbo published in the *Revista Lusitana*, vol. VII (1902), 97-103, an article on Trancoso as a source for the study of Portuguese proverbs. The writer gives the few known facts of Trancoso's life, reprints the prologue to the first edition,¹ gives a list of the editions mentioned by previous bibliographers, and publishes nineteen proverbs from the *Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo*.

Nothing more was printed about Trancoso until last year (1921) when twenty-four of the thirty-eight *histórias* were reprinted in the *Antologia Portuguesa* edited by Agostinho de Campos and attractively printed at Lisbon by Aillaud and Bertrand. Of the fourteen omitted stories five are given by Braga in the work mentioned above, leaving nine still inaccessible to the student. Most of these are of little interest; only two, in fact, are of any importance; the second story of the second part (a version of the theme of "The Thankful Dead"), and the eighth of the third part, a story taken from Cintio's *Gli Eccatommitti*, ii, 1.

Nothing is known of Trancoso's life except what he himself tells us in the *Prologo* mentioned above: that he was living in the city of Lisbon in 1569 when it was depopulated by the plague which robbed him of a daughter twenty-four years of age, a son who was a student, a nephew, choir-boy in the cathedral, and a wife beloved for her virtues; that these losses caused him to fall into so deep a melancholy that he feared it would injure his body and soul; and to distract his mind he determined to write tales of adventure, profitable and exemplary stories, together with some sayings of wise and serious men. He tells us in his stories that he lived in the parish of S. Pedro de Alfama, and Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, p. 100, prints a document of 1575 in which Trancoso was surety for a certain Francisco Lainez, but which contains no details of his life. He was the

¹ Sousa Viterbo does not say where he found the *Prologo* which he reprints. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxviii, says that the "carta" directed to the Queen Doña Catalina, widow of Don Juan III and "regentess" of the Kingdom, is found only in the first and very rare edition of the *Contos* of 1575 and was unfortunately omitted in the subsequent editions. This is a mistake. Professor J. de Perott in 1913 published in the *Revista Lusitana*, vol. IV, pp. 159-163, an account of a rare edition printed at Lisbon in 1594 by Antonio Alvarez. This edition contains the *Prologo* to the Queen and is reprinted in full by Professor de Perott, showing that the *Prologo* had probably been printed in the previous editions of 1575 (?), 1585, and 1589. It was apparently not printed in the subsequent editions. It is reproduced with some omissions in the modern edition which forms the subject of this review. I may add that the edition of 1594 seems to be unknown to all previous bibliographers. By the courtesy of the owner I had an opportunity to examine this edition, which contains the first two parts only. The third part probably appeared for the first time in the next edition of 1596.

author of one other work, an ecclesiastical calendar to determine the moveable feasts of the church, published in 1570. All other particulars of Trancoso's life are pure conjecture, as to the place and date of his birth (Trancoso, 1515 or 1520) and death (before 1596).

The value of Trancoso's work for the study of the diffusion of popular tales is slight. The author was familiar, of course, with the Italian novelists and borrowed some nine of his stories from Boccaccio, Bandello, Cintio, Sercambi and Straparola. Some eight stories are derived from sources more or less popular which reached Trancoso probably by way of oral tradition. Among these are the story (I, 9) of "The Envious Neighbors," one of whom is to receive double what is granted to the other. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi, thinks Trancoso took his story from the fables of Avianus (20), but the story was widely known in many other forms (see Crane's *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 196; Klapper, *Erzählungen*, No. 156; and Braga, *op. cit.*, II, 69-230); "The Secret Revealed" (I, 11), which has Italian variants as old as the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (see Oesterley's *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 124, and Alessandro d'Ancona, *Studj di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, Bologna, 1880, p. 348); "The Emperor and the Abbot" (I, 17) (see Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*, Pt. II, p. 403); here again Italian versions abound (see Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 275, 276, 378); "The Three Counsels" (I, 18) (see *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 103, and Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 157, 357); a Spanish version is in *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. Knust, p. 37; "The Thankful Dead" (II, 1) has already been mentioned (the most copious references to this widely spread tale may be found in the third volume of Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen* to Grimm, pp. 490 *et seq.*); "The Virtuous Queen and the Two Envious Sisters" (II, 7), of which innumerable versions are found in Italy and the Iberian peninsula (see Braga, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 192 *et seq.*; Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 17; and Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, No. 96); "The False and the True Prince" (III, 1), which has echoes in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, IV, and in the *Libro de los Ejemplos*, No. 247. Finally, in this connection may be mentioned "The Found Purse" (III, 7), a very popular story of Oriental origin (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, ix, p. 26, *Orient und Occident*, I, p. 656), of which variants are found in Italy (Sercambi, Nov. IV, Cintio, I, 9) and in Spain (Timoneda, No. VI). Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. xciv, says that Trancoso's version appears to be independent of these and of popular origin.

Some of Trancoso's stories are mere anecdotes, the sources of which are to be found in such works as Melchior de la Cruz's *Floresta Española*, etc. This is the case with I, 8, where a steward tells the archbishop of Toledo that he has too many in his household. A list is made of those necessary and those unnecessary. The archbishop says: "Let those remain whom I need, and also those others who need me." The same idea is found in the preceding story (I, 7), where a king gives a youth a position as accountant in the customs. An inspector of the treasury remarking to the king on the uselessness of the office, the latter replies: "If we do not need the accountant, the youth needs the office." Some of these anecdotes are taken from Spanish history, e.g. II, 9, where the Marques de Priego, seeing one of his castles razed by the order of the Catholic King, says: "Thank God for having given me walls on which the king's anger may be vented!"

One of the most curious of Trancoso's stories is the one (I, 14) entitled by

Braga "A prova das laranjas" and by the *Antologia* "Alma Tabelioa" ("A Notary's Mind"), which is briefly as follows. A lawyer with three sons asks his lord to take one of them into his service. The lord tests the three by asking how many oranges are in a bowl of water. There are four whole ones and seven halves, which latter in the water, appear like whole ones. Two of the brothers answer a dozen and a half; the third calls in two witnesses and in their presence takes the oranges out of the bowl and draws up a legal document relating the facts. The lord takes him into his service. The *Antologia*, p. xlvi, says that an analogous situation is found in *El Conde Lucanor*, No. 19. This is not a very close parallel; in it a king tests the worth of his three sons by dressing them up and having them ride through the streets of the city and report to him what they had observed.

I have said above that Trancoso took some nine of his stories (occurring mostly in the third part) from the Italian novelists. It may be interesting to know which they are. From the *Decameron* he took the stories of Tito and Gisippo (X, 8) and of Griselda (X, 10); from Bandello (II, 15) the story of Pietro and the miller's daughter whom the duke of Florence compels him to make his wife; from Cintio (I, 5) the story of Pisti the Venitian, who slays his wife's suitor and flees from justice; he finally surrenders himself to save his family from starvation, and is pardoned by the state;² from Cintio (I, 9) the story of Filargiro, who loses a purse and offers a reward for its discovery; when it is found the owner pretends that it contained more money and the judge decides that it cannot be the one he lost (this story is also in Sercambi, IV, as has been stated above); from Cintio (II, 1), the story where Diego kills the lover of Caritea, who promises her hand to the one who will bring her the murderer's head. In a subsequent war with Portugal Diego defends Caritea and captures her enemy the king of Portugal. Diego then surrenders himself to Caritea, who marries him.

In conclusion I may say that it is proposed to publish some thirty volumes of the *Antologia*, of which seven have already appeared. They are all of interest to students of Portuguese and are issued in a very attractive form.

T. F. C.

² These two stories were very popular and furnished Lope de Vega with the plots of his plays, *La Quinta de Florencia* and *El Piadoso Veneciano*, both now accessible to the student in volume xv of the edition of Lope de Vega's works edited by the Spanish Academy, Madrid, 1913, pp. 359, 536.

NOTES AND NEWS

The *Studi Medievali* will be continued, under the editorship of Professors V. Crescini and Ezio Levi.

Professor H. R. Lang has been made a Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid.

The late Mr. Owen Pike devoted many years of his life to preparing a Norman-French Dictionary. He had attained unique knowledge of the subject from his long experience in translating the Year Books. Discouraged by lack of appreciation, he directed before his death that the manuscript be destroyed, tho he did not state in his will that it might not first be printed. It is hoped that funds may be found in this country or in England to print this very valuable and much needed work, and that the executors of Mr. Pike's testament will interpose no objection.

Professor E. C. Hills has resigned his chair at the University of Indiana to accept a professorship at the University of California.

M. Ferdinand Brunot has just publisht at Paris (Masson, 120, Boulevard Saint-Germain) *La Pensée et la Langue, Méthode, Principes et Plan d'une Théorie du Langage appliquée au français*. This monumental work (956 pages) does not belie its title, and is of the utmost interest to students of grammar and language.

The death is reported of Jules Haraszti, professor of French literature, and Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Budapest. He is known for his studies of Chénier and Rostand, for an edition of *Tyr et Sidon* for the Société des Textes Français Modernes and for many other works.

Romance paleography suffered a great loss in the death of Professor John M. Burnam of the University of Cincinnati. He left to the University his immensely rich collection of facsimiles and works on paleography.

M. Joseph Bédier has publisht with H. Piazza, Paris, 1922, *La Chanson de Roland, publiée d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford*. The edition offers a translation into modern French.

Hispanists have long felt the need of an alphabetical list of the words that are defined or otherwise explained in the invaluable dictionary of Covarruvias, and it has remained for Professor John M. Hill of Indiana University to do the work: *Index Verborum de Covarruvias Orozco: Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, Madrid, 1674. By John M. Hill, Associate Professor of Spanish in Indiana University. In the *Indiana University Studies*, Vol. VIII, Study No. 48, March, 1921. Pp. iv, 186.

No one can do satisfactory work in the literature of the Golden Age of Spain without access to the dictionary of Covarruvias, and all who have used it realize only too keenly how difficult it often is to find the word one is seeking. The word may be there, and with explanatory matter that will solve the problem at hand, but it may be out of place, or even buried somewhere in an article on quite a different word. With the aid of Professor Hill's index the word can be found at once if it is in the dictionary.

News has just arrived that the exhaustive dictionary of XVIth century French prepared by M. Huguet is to be publisht by Champion.

OBITUARY

FRANCESCO FLAMINI (1868-1922)

American scholars in Romance will greatly deplore the recent death of Francesco Flamini, who held the chair of Italian Literature at Pisa, and through the medium of whose books they have all been so richly taught and inspired.

Professor Flamini was born of a Roman family in Bergamo in 1868. He died at Pisa on the 17th of March. For some time he held the chair of Italian Literature at Padua, then, upon the death of Professor D'Ancona, he was appointed to fill the master's place at Pisa. A list of Flamini's studies would indeed be too long. For a complete bibliography of his works up to 1918, one may refer to the volume published in his honor by his pupils in that year—the *Raccolta di studi di storia e critica litteraria*. The best known of his works are *La Lirica toscana nel Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico* (1891); *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera* (1895); *Il Cinquecento* (1902); and—most familiar in America perhaps—*I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo* (1903-4), which was ably translated into English by the late Professor Freeman M. Josselyn of Boston University. A very valuable volume that should also be noted is the *Antologia della critica e dell'erudizione*, which was revised and reprinted in 1915. Flamini's very last book was *Poeti e critici della Nuova Italia* (1920), and when he died he was at work on a new commentary of the Divine Comedy, in which he had reached only the twenty-sixth canto of the Inferno.

From the mere titles of his principal studies one can see the breadth of Professor Flamini's erudition. From the earliest poets of the 13th century to the newest post-war writers, he had delved widely and with careful criticism into literature not only Italian but European. The number of his works moreover makes us wonder at his tireless energy, especially when we consider that in his last years his strength was continually undermined by the disease that finally ended his prolific career.

Personally Professor Flamini was utterly simple and unassuming, devoted to his wife and three beautiful daughters, eager to travel and to throw himself wholeheartedly into all nobly human interests. Recently he had given courses at the Sorbonne, and in the war he contributed with youthful fervor to the cause of his country. In his death Italy, which is so rich in humanistic scholarship of the highest type, lost one of her most distinguished devotees to literature and erudition.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

